SOME

REMARKABLE PASSAGES

[Walker, Patrick]

OF THE

LIFE AND DEATH

OF

MR. ALEXANDER PEDEN,

LATE MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL AT NEW GLENLUCE IN GALLOWAY.

From the Fourth Aberdeen Edition.

JUDG. ii, 10. *And also all that generation were gathered unto their fathers; and there arose another generation after them, which knew not the Lord, nor yet the works which he had done for* Israel.

PSAL. lxxviii, 3, 4. *Which we have heard and known, and our Fathers have told us, we will not hide them from their children, shewing to the generation to come, the praises of the Lord, and his strength, and his wonderful works that he hath done.* These with the 5, 6, 7 & 8 verses.

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Preface.

THE Lord, who preserves both man and beast; whose goodness and grace is very precious, hath in his sovereignty been pleased, not only to continue me upon the stage, far beyond my deservings and expectations, when so many others were swept off, that were more fruitful and useful in a short time of their life, than ever I have been all my days; and hath brought me to and back many times from the gates of death, both natural, accidental, and violent; but also, to dispose and order my lot so, that I have had the occasion to see, hear, and be witness to many remarkable things, and to have a more perfect understanding of these times, without vanity, than any I know now alive; having had the happiness to be so much in converse with many martyrs, sufferers, and other worthy christians in and from all corners of the land, both in prison, and when wandering in desart places, in that time of persecution, and at other times since. Notwithstanding of all this that I have seen, heard, and been witness to, for upwards of forty years past; yet there being so many remarkable passages that I have frequently heard, but was not quite distinct nor sure beneath-foot, which made me uneasy until I made all search for further informations and confirmations; which obliged me to travel upwards of a thousand miles, in the years 1722 and 1723, in *Scotland* and *Ireland:* wherein I am obliged to acknowledge the Lord's good hand of providence in the preserving me, both by sea and land, and leading me in desart pathless ways that I knew not; and making my journey prosperous, getting informations and confirmations, far beyond my expectation, especially in *Ireland*, which much refreshed my drooping spirit. Nevertheless, I wanted

not several discouragements; as, *First*, When I travelled many miles, enquiring for my old acquaintances of the gleanings of that unheard-of persecution, it was for the most part answered, They are dead, and off the stage. *Secondly*, Others of them, whom I found alive, were confused, quite rusted, and averse from discoursing on these things which I wanted, and wherein I have heard them take delight. Nevertheless, they were obliged to say, that then it was better with them than now; especially, those who have got the world in their arms, and but too much of it in their hearts, and lost sight of both their eyes, and fallen in contentedly with this backsliding and upsitten church. *Thirdly*, Others promised fair to bethink themselves, and collect their memories, and lay themselves out for informations and confirmations, and write distinct accounts, but performed nothing. *Fourthly*, Others, upon the right hand, of the bigot dissenters, looking upon me with an evil eye; and constructing all to the worst about me, gave me indiscreet upbraiding language, calling me a vile *old apostate*. But these were no new things to me, being weather beaten, having been in the midst of these fires of division, between the left-hand defections and right-hand extremes, upwards of forty years. As these have been a part of my discouragements in the gathering, so I want not more and far greater in the publishing, in this critical, censorious age; so that it is hard to know what, or how to speak, far more to write, especially to me who never learned grammar: but many will take exceptions and make reflections, being so divided in parties, as,

First, There being so many in this perishing age, so far given up of God, as to make sport of heaven and hell, and all sacred things, being as violently driven of the devil, upon the highest topics of the dangerous perishing rocks of atheism, as ever the *Gadarene* swine were.

Secondly, To the most part of the old generation, all these signal manifestations and remarkable steps of the Lord's providence, at that time, are now out of date, and looked upon as idle tales; and few of the young incline or desire now to be informed.

Thirdly, The most part of the great wits of the age, will think, as Mr. *Woodrow* writes, *That there was too much prophesying in these days.* Malignant nonsensical reflections of that nature, are now needless; for such foresights of events are now quite ceased. We may all cry out, *Watchman, what of the night? Watchman, what of the night?* with all the sleeping churches of Christ through the world; not one of them to awaken another. And how long this melancholy day may last, there is not a prophet, nor any one that can tell us the time how long, nor when the deliverance will be, from under the power of those plagues spiritual and temporal, under which the nation and church of *Scotland* are brought very low. Though I know nothing now that ever any of these worthies, either ministers or people, did foresee and foretell, of what events might fall out (though none of them did take upon them to prophesy; and Mr. *Durham* and other great men do not condemn this; and there are many such instances in the *fulfilling of the Scriptures*, and other human writings) but what is altogether and fully accomplished, except that of outlandish people, especially from *France*, should come to this land, and the old serpent's brood, the popish, prelatical and malignant faction, enemies of God and godliness, should take part with them, and raise a massacre, and lay much of this land desolate, especially the west of *Scotland*. And though the Lord should show a miracle of mercy to sinful *Scotland*, and make our time a time of love, yet these seers were not mistaken; all that they did foresee, fear, and spake of, hath been designed ever since the most part of them were taken off the stage, and six times endeavoured and attempted; as in 1708, when the *Pretender* was on our coast from *France*. 2*dly*, At the rebellion, 1715. 3*dly*. At *Glenshiels*, 1719, when the *Spaniards* were taken there. But there were other three times that escaped me then; before the *Revolution*, in the years 1684 and 1685, when we were all in a mistake about enemies' designs in exercising such unheard of tyranny: but, since that time, a gentleman that writes of court-affairs in *Britain*, for twenty of these years, asserts, That the very design of that killing-time, was to provoke the Lord's people in

the west of *Scotland*, to rise in arms in their own defence; as at *Pentland*, *Bothwell* and *Airdmoss*, that they might get the sham-occasion to raise fire and sword in the west of *Scotland*, to make it a hunting-field, as the duke of *York* openly threatened, saying, *There was no other way of rooting out Fanaticism out of it.* 2*dly*, In *September* 1686, when they made that narrow search in the west for arms, that the people might have nothing to defend their families from a devouring sword, and their houses from the flames. I can assert the truth of this, having escaped their hands so very narrowly and so remarkably, in that search. 3*dly*. The very design of that popish toleration, 1687, was, to lull all asleep, that they might get their bloody designs effectuated by a massacre; when they were all disappointed, and had their designs crushed by very remarkable steps of divine providence. And further it is still to be remembered and considered, that these worthies, particularly Mr. *Cargil*, and Mr. *Peden*, who spake most of this, did set no time to it. And as Mr. *Cargil* used to express himself, speaking in public, *That a delayed thing was neither forgotten nor forgiven; and, that the longer it was delayed, the sorer it was when it came.* It was fifty years after *Manasseh* went to his grave, *who caused all Israel to sin, and filled Jerusalem with innocent blood, which the Lord will not pardon*, before that stroke of the *Babylonish* captivity came; and upwards of forty years after Christ's ascension, ere that tremenduous non-such stroke came upon *Jerusalem*, wherein eleven hundred thousand perished by the sword, famine, and pestilence; the foresight of which made our blessed Saviour to weep, when he looked on the city. What has not yet been, may be; for we are more bent to backsliding this day, when that evil resolution-spirit entered in among the bulk of our ministers, and other leading persons in state and army, at the fiftieth year, seventy-eight years ago, which may be justly reckoned our *Gibeah* days, from which we have sinned. We are a generation of sinful men, risen up to augment the fierce anger of the Lord against sinful *Scotland;* serving ourselves heirs to the sins of our public resolutioners, indulged addressers, accepters and

approvers of *York's* popish toleration. O for the sharp sight and clear eye, the distinct and impartial pen of our leading staters, maintainers and sealers of our sworn-to and sealed testimony, to draw up and set in a clear view, a full catalogue of *Scotland's* sins, from that day to this day; especially, to discover the sins, snares and defections of the present black infatuate bargain of union, toleration and patronages; but especially to rip up and lay open the foul moniplies of that bundle of these intricate, implicate, multifarious and unnecessary oaths imposed upon this nation and ministers of this church, by the authority of the lords spiritual and temporal, with their foul, cunning, rotten distinctions, as, *As's*, and *Which's*, thereby swearing away a presbyterian king from the throne of *Britain*, and submission to *Erastianism*, and to the height of the usurped power of abjured prelatical hierarchy; being imposed by their authority, upon the ministers of this church; and that as they are ministers, without their consent, under the same penalty with civil officers in state and army, who have their commissions from them, whereas ministers of the gospel hold neither of them: yet without submission to these unhappy encroachments, to be deprived of office and living, contrary to an express act and declaration of the General Assembly, in the year 1648, against all new oaths and bonds in the common cause, imposed without the consent of the church, which they looked upon as a snare to the people of God, to involve them in guiltiness, and to draw them from their former principles and vows in the *Solemn League and Covenant*. They are more than half-blind, who do not see, that as the causes of God's wrath, attended with all aggravating circumstances, to make them very heinous, are many and great; so the evidences and effects of his displeasure and hot anger, are visibly appearing against all, both spiritually and temporally: as,

First, The spirit of conviction and conversion restrained; the power and blessings of the gospel withholden; the wonted fruits and effects of the gospel do not now appear; the most part darkened, deadened and hardened under ordinances and providences of mercy and judgment; that as the old reverend Mr. *James*

Kirkton expressed himself frequently in public, *That the grace of preaching was much gone, and the gift remained; and we contented ourselves with the gift, without the grace: this*, said he, *was one of the main causes why the gospel was so ineffectual in* Scotland. I have often thought these years past, that it were a mercy to many, that their gifts were as far decayed, dead and withered, as the exercise of their graces are; then would they themselves and others know better how it is with many of them.

Secondly, A reforming covenanting spirit is so far out of request, that our covenants which enemies burnt, and all ranks have broken, were laid in the grave by our first General Assembly, and our precious *Confession of Faith* made the grave-stone, enjoining all ministers and elders to subscribe the same, and the late church *formula* laid also upon it, to make all sure; and not only the greater part passing by it in forgetfulness and silence; but many, both ministers and professors denying the binding obligation of it. It was far otherwise, in our blest, convincing, reforming, covenanting days, in these lands, when both state and church concluded and enacted, That from the king upon the throne, to the least office in the kingdom, that at their admission, they should be obliged to subscribe the same; yea, and none entered to the college, nor any admitted to the sacrament without it. And the General Assembly, and commissioners at *London*, in the year 1644, *Henderson*, *Gillespie*, and *Rutherford*, and their brethren the *English* divines, called the *Solemn League and Covenant*, the foundation and chief part of this work; and the obligation of it perpetual, that no power on earth can loose. It must be a strange building that we have now, that wants both foundation and chief part; but they are now upon another footing.

Thirdly, Though the Lord has been pleased, in his sovereignty, to restrain these lion-judgments of sword, famine and pestilence, (the foresight and forethought whereof, made our worthies to tremble) to roar and yell upon us, to awaken us out of the deep sleep that the foolish are fallen into, and slumbering of the wise; yet, all may see the *moth-judgments*, both spiritual and

temporal, consuming us secretly and insensibly; the nation wasting, and the church sinking, blasting us in all our projects and endeavours, both by sea and land; the most part, either at a stand, or going back; the *Scots* blood gone out of our veins, honesty out of our hearts, and zeal off our spirits; and the *English* abominations drunk in as sweet wine, with pleasure; a swift decay of good, and speedy increase of ill; pining away in our iniquities, and spending our wretched years in trouble; great vexation on all spirits, and wrath upon this people. The reverend Mr. *James Webster*, in his last public lecture on the first verses of the eighth chapter of *Hosea*, said, *He knew not if ever he came to that place again, and durst not but give them warning, that there were storms and strokes coming upon this land, that would make the ears of other nations to tingle; that there were many new projects among us, to insure our houses, and raise ourselves; but if ever any project that we took in hand, proved successful, until the breaches of our covenant were confest, mourned over, and thereupon repented again, he was for mistaken.*

Fourthly, Prodigious out-breakings through the land, and unusual and unheard-of ways of sinning, fallen upon, which are not only great causes of wrath, but great signs that judgments are at the very door. What cutting of throats, hangings and drownings, and such deep forgetfulness of God, and of the Lord's day, that three in one parish, in the year 1716, and nine together in the next parish, in the year 1717, all of them professors, went to the cornfields in these Sabbath mornings, and did shear a few sheaves of corn; of whom, and where, other things might have been expected: these things our fathers knew not of, especially in and about sinful *Edinburgh*, the sink of abominations, that has defiled the whole land, where Satan sometime-a-day had his seat; and a throne of iniquity was establised by law, and whose streets did run with the precious blood of God's people.

Fifthly, A young uprising generation, few of them in their right mind, or have their faces heavenward; the most part carried down the stream and current of profanity, vanity, or a ruining security and indifference

about all these great things; though they have the aspect, and may have the prospect of scant and want, and leanness both of soul and body, if these melancholy days be lengthened out.

Sixthly, Whatever have been the many and long unhappy debates about the doctrine of controversy and the cross; yet the church of *Scotland* has been admired by other churches, for unity and purity, in the doctrine of the gospel, until the unhappy professor *Simson's* days, that he started up to revive old condemned errors: which plea got the wrong name, when it was called Mr. *Webster's* and Mr. *Simson's* plea; whereas it was *truth* and *error* indeed. And of all the weather-cock turnings that have been amongst them, these hundred and twenty-eight years, this gave the greatest discovery of them, that there were so few to take truth's part, in a positive manner; and so many fighting with long staves, to save the *Professor's* erroneous head, being so possest with affection and prejudice, and so little zeal for the truths of the great God. I was a witness to this, to my great grief, in the committee anent the reverend Mr. *Andrew Cameron* say, *Moderator, you may fight with long staves, as you will, but it will not be in your power to save the professor's head.* And though it was commonly said, that all this moor-burn flowed from Mr. *Webster's* ill humour and contentious temper; yet, a little before his death, he said to myself, That he was in that debate, as he was never in any; for all that time he never found his blood warm: and whatever discouragements and griefs he got in these judicatories, as soon as he got alone, he was perfectly free, easy and comforted. At the same time he said also, *That we might linger on for some time; but if the doctrine of the gospel was suffered to be corrupted, it would hasten vengeance on this poor land.* What a blot and stain was it to this church, and how stumbling and offensive to many serious and zealous ministers and people, that professor *Simson* was suffered to continue in the office, to poison the fountains of learning, that might infect the whole land; and that there was not a note of infamy put upon him, by deprivation and excommunication, and

him set up as a beacon to terrify and make others afraid to split upon such dangerous rocks?

Seventhly, There are also, in these later years, debates risen upon the difference between the doctrine of grace, or of the gospel, and the legal formal doctrine of works; which also gets the wrong name, when it is industriously and maliciously spread, both by word and write, by many ministers and professors, that it is a contending for an erroneous book, thereby darkening and blotting that plea, keeping people in ignorance, who live by an implicit faith, that they cannot read, nor have a right uptaking of this controversy: whereas it was publickly said by the protesters, before the supreme judicatory, That though they owned the scope of that book sound, and the design of it good; yet there were several unguarded expressions in it, that they would not defend; and branding also the author, as a sly *Antinomian*, and all the protesters, with the odious name of *Antinomians*. And I doubt not, if the high-flown wits of this age would consult and rack their unsanctified gifts, and criticize as much upon the writings of *Rutherford*, *Durham*, and *Owen*, or any other sound human writings, but that they would find out defects, and make them also offenders for words. And above all the unhappy pleas that have fallen out in my time, this has had the most good effects, that has put so many professors to make earnest, like the *Bereans*, searching into the difference, truth and falsehood of these things; and so many ministers to dig deep into the profound mysteries of the gospel, and to unfold them to the people. And though I have had the happiness to be a hearer of the gospel from my infancy, in fields and houses; yet of late I have heard some liths and nicks of the gospel made plain, and the way of salvation more perfectly taught than ever. I have also heard some of the new mode of legal, formal sermons, of good works, to my grief; particularly upon that text, *Let the wicked forsake his way*, &c. standing straight up without motion in the pulpit, having all in readiness, and delivering all in a neat fine stile, without once making mention of the sweet name of Jesus, *who saves his people from their sins*, or the riches and power of the free grace of Christ, in the enlightening, convin-

cing and converting a sinner from sin. Great *Durham* calls this refined hypocrisy, the going the round of all duties, and doing for life, by so doing to move God to have pity and compassion on them; and doctor *Owen* calls all this loss and dung, and not the rock of the glorious person of Christ, God-Man, or the rock of his blessed doctrine that believers should build upon, which will stand against all blowing of winds, and coming of floods: and whoever teaches this doctrine, puts a toom spoon in their mouth, which will not only starve them, but poison them; and whoever drinks in, and rests upon this doing or believing, and doing for life, will have a cold coal to blow at in the end. And I am persuaded, that whoever gets right views, conceptions and apprehensions, of the incomprehensible love of God, manifested in the sending of Jesus Christ into the world, it will have more weight and influence upon an enlightened, believing soul, to the sincere, serious, frequent performance of all commanded duties, than the threatening of ten thousand hells, for not doing; this is the bed that the most part are sleeping soundly and securely on, and have no need of rocking; that they will do all they can and Christ will do the rest of it, making Christ copartner with them in the work of their salvation. This is nothing but the old, broken, bottomless covenant of works, that the wisdom of heaven never thought fit to mend; but in goodness, love and wisdom, found out a new and living way in the new covenant of grace. But let them boast of their doings, and believings, and workings for life, as they will; without they fall upon another way of doings and workings than ever I could find these forty-four years, their best doings will be most humbling to them. Next to my original guilt, the sin of my holy things and days lies heaviest upon me.—I have found my sins humbling to me, and duties puffing up; sometimes when water goes out, wind goes in; and if I be not saved by the merits, virtue and incense of Christ's obedience and intercession, I am lost for ever, and will die in my sins, and perish in mine iniquities, and must bid farewell to heaven and happiness, and embrace hell and wo for ever. What Mrs. *Catharine Hamilton* said to the popish priests, was good sense, when examined upon the peril of her life, about the time of

her famous brother's burning at St. *Andrews*, our first noted martyr, Mr. *Patrick Hamilton*, when pressing her with the merits of good works; *Work here, Work there, what working's all this?* said she; *No works will save me but Christ's merits.* And the man of God, Mr. *Donald Cargil*, when speaking in publick of legal ministers, who had no experience of regeneration, called the *maiden midwives who stifled the children in the birth*; and others of them that were backslidden, silent and unfaithful to souls, called them, *thunder-slain or blasted*: and within eight hours of his martyrdom, said, *My soul trembles to think how little of regeneration there is amongst the ministers and professors of* Scotland: *O the ministers of* Scotland: *how they have betrayed Christ's interest, and beguiled souls! they have not entered in themselves, and them that were entering they hindered.*

Eighthly, All who do not shut their eyes must see that the Lord has divided us in his anger, and poured a spirit of confusion and division, which may be *great thoughts of heart* to all, who allow themselves to think upon the causes, and what shall be the end of these things, that never a people were so divided, since these nonsuch judgments were poured out upon that infatuate people devoted to destruction at *Jerusalem*. The *Jews'* privileges, sins and judgments may be thoughts of heart to all thinking *Scotsmen:* All may know that *Presbyterians* in *Scotland* are now divided in ten parties; and love so far decayed, that there is an inclination to division, and the most part blinded with affection and prejudice, and a thrice-cursed spirit of self-conceit, self-seeking and self-confidence poured out upon all: all right in their own eyes, and none right; all wrong, and none wrong, is our case; every party confident that they have the testimony, some have one part of it and some have another, but not one party in all *Scotland* has the whole of the sworn-to, and sealed testimony against popery, prelacy, erastianism, schism, error, tyranny and defection, and whatsoever is contrary to sound doctrine, and the power of godliness. That precious testimony was never in such danger of being blotted and bluthered, that the poor, more than half-blind uprising generation will not read it, nor know what their fathers contended for,

what by left-hand defections, and right-hand extremes, the two chief parts of it, being now heartily and willingly renounced and deserted, by solemn oaths, against Prelacy and Erastianism, that have been earnestly contended against in *Scotland*, these hundred and fifty-four years; with prayers (taking the Lord's name in vain, at best) to be helped in all these foul steps of defection: but, whatever God help them, none, who are any way versed in the contendings through the periods of this church, will allow themselves to think, that *Jacob's* God, the God of *Bethel*, will help them to the undoing of the same, who raised up, spirited and endowed with gifts and graces, and answered our fathers in the day of their distress, and was with them by the way, strengthening, supporting and comforting them, in their stating, maintaining, and sealing of the truth, and who counted nothing too dear for the same. And whatever faint opposition the judicatories of this church have made, these years by-gone, against all these grievous impositions upon us, they have still blown and holden meal in their mouth, at, and ever since the revolution, in their consulting and racking the rules of carnal state-policy, thereby licking up their father's vomit, in their publick acknowledgments; and none of their addresses have had the tinkle or sound of the declarations and faithful warnings of the general assemblies of this church, in our good, reforming, covenanting days. Take one instance of many that might be given; in the year 1642, the General Assembly's answer to the declaration of the parliament of *England*, hath these express words: *Yea, what hope can the kingdom and kirk of* Scotland *have of a firm and durable peace, until* Prelacy, *which hath been the main cause of their miseries and troubles first and last, be plucked up root and branch, as a plant which God hath not planted, and from which no better fruits can be expected, than such sour grapes as, this day, do set on edge the kingdom of* England. *The Prelatical hierarchy being put out of the way, the work will be easy.* And the few ministers that have got restraining grace, and been kept from running the same length, there is such a confusion, fainting fear among them, that there is no public, plain, joint, posi-

tive testimony given against all these wide, foul steps of defection; but, on the contrary, keeping communion with them at sacraments, and otherwise, thereby helping them to stifle their convictions, and harden them in their defections; to the great offence and stumbling of many serious, zealous souls, through the land, that know not what hand to turn them to, whether to hear, or forbear; having now sitten their time, and slighted their seasonable, golden opportunity of giving an active testimony against these nation-wasting, and church-sinking abominations of union, toleration, and patronages, and that bundle of unhappy oaths, for themselves, and following the pathed road of their renowned ancestors, equally opposing white devils, and black devils, giving a good example to others, who are come after them, and being as he-goats before the flock; but this seasonable time and testimony being let slip and neglected, whoever would now, or afterwards, stand up to supply this lamentable want, would be looked upon as (*Paul* and *Silas* were) men going to turn the nations upside down; which are so far out of sight, that they must have a clear eye, and be long-sighted, that see them setting up their heads, that appear to be of that growth in piety, zeal and faithfulness, as to supply this sad defect; the most part of the young, have only got a clatter of learning in their heads, and the frothy air of the time about their ears; others of gifts, learning and grace, quite discouraged; seeing all methods taken to close doors upon all, and access to none who will not bow to their *formulas*, and obtain the approbation of their *professors* of divinity, and patrons' presentations. I know that unhappy argument, that has done so much unspeakable hurt in all the backsliding times of this church, together with divisions, especially the many right-hand extremes, have also done much hurt to these few Nonjurants, *viz.* That many of these swearing ministers are good men, and therefore cannot withdraw from them: but whatever be their goodness, this is no part of it; and the better they are, it aggravates their guilt in departing so far out of the way, causing so many to stumble, and made themselves so contemptible and base in the eyes of many of their most serious,

zealous people; their empty kirks, these years past, through many places in *Scotland*, can witness this; and if they get not a cast by common, it may be with them as it has been with great and good men, who have had a gloomy evening, and their sun setting under a cloud with them. What famous Mr. *Rutherford*, said to Mr. *David Dickson*, who shined bright in his young days, but in his old age was one of the ministers of *Edinburgh*, and took part with the public resolutioners, *Davie, Davie, ye'll shine in heaven, but no more on earth.* And there is ground to fear, that, if that handful of Nonjurants be dealt with, as some good and great men have been, which I pray the Lord may, in love, prevent, for their slighting, of so seasonable a testimony, and for their unhallowed unions with these swearing ministers; these Jurants shall not only be continued as thorns in their sides, but these of them, who shall continue any time upon the stage, shall be left to fall in some foul national snare and defection. Some instances of this may be given, passing by what was in that 42 years backsliding, from the 1596, until 1638. *First*, The Protesters, being once fairly parted with the Resolutioners, did unite and mix with them again, which was the chief reason or cause, that there was no testimony given against that heaven-daring act *Rescissory*, nor the establishing of abjured *Prelacy;* six hundred of their brethren Resolutioners, going out at the first puff of that wind of persecution, as chaff at the back barn-door, to the embracing the same; which made the worthy Mr. *M' Ward* and others say, *That they would go mourning to their graves for their re-uniting again, and for not protesting against that unhallowed union with them;* and not only their sinful and shameful silence, at all these horrible things, the most part went and heard them, even after they had changed their head and holding; and many of them advised the people to do the same; whereby the body of the land was involved in deep perjury.

Secondly, At the 1669, when the first indulgence was embraced there were so many that not only gave no testimony, but prest keeping up communion with them, and were left to embrace the second, in the 1672, very

like unto the first and second classes of Jurants in our day.

Thirdly, Many yet gaping after the third, with the cautionary-bond, which was quickly snatcht from them; then all of them fell into a deep silence, except Mr. *Cargill* and Mr. *Cameron*, which were soon cut off; Mr. *Hog*, and Mr *Welwood*, *King* and *Kid*, were honestly off the stage; Mr. *Blackadder*, and Mr. *Dickson*, being in the enemy's hands, Mr. *Peden*, and Mr. *Hepburn* being gone off the kingdom; these were not silent at the snares and sins of that day, as Mr. *Blackadder* used to say, when speaking of the indulgence, *That sometimes the tongue would not be holden.*

It hath been so remarkable through the periods of this church which has obliged many to take notice of it, that those who have been helped to steer the most steady course, in contending for substance and circumstances, of the attained-to testimony, have had most light, life, strength, joy and comfort, both in their life, and at their death; and these that have done otherwise, in drawing back and turning aside to the left or right hand, in omissions, or commissions, it hath been far otherwise with them, both in their life and death; and that one wrong step draws, leads, and makes way for another; and few that have lost their feet, and quit their ground, have found them, and taken up their ground again, (a famous *Mackward*, and Mr. *Shields*, are two rare instances of doing this) and oft-times with many, a backslidden spirit has turned to a persecuting spirit; many with tongues, and some with hands. Many instances of this might be given through the periods of this church, especially in my own time.

Tenthly, Then again, upon the right hand, their unwarrantable, schismatical separations, from all that will not, nor dare not go their length in judgment and practice, which was never heard of in *Scotland*, until unhappy *John Gib's* days, forty seven years ago; and these two unhappy principles, *viz.* That every difference in judgment is a ground of separation; and that there is no keeping up, nor carrying on of a testimony, but by separation, which has led some out of the way ever since, which I have been a witness to, unto my great grief:

and of late they have published some wild, enthusiastick, deluded, demented, nonsensical pamphlets, called the *manifesto*, *bond of union*, and *grand jugglers*, and others; which if all our staters, maintainers, and sealers of our testimony, were alive, they would not know what to make of them, nor what they would be at, and their breath that they speak and write with, would be strange to them; all these have a direct tendency to blot and bury that dear-bought testimony, and make it contemptible in the eyes of all.

Eleventhly, Notwithstanding that our backslidings, upsittings, turnings aside to the left and right-hand, have been of a long continuance, many and great, and attended with all aggravated circumstances, to make them very heinous, that may make all fear, that our judgments, spiritual and temporal, shall be many, long and great, and shall want no circumstances to make them terrible; that as old Mr. *James Kirton* said, when praying publickly, *Lord we know not whether thou wilt come against us as a moth, or as a lion; we deserve both, and may fear both* And though the causes of God's wrath are many and great, and the evidences and effects of his hot displeasure are many and great, yet how few are fasting, mourning, sighing, and crying, for their own, and for the national abominations, past and present? national fasting and mourning are so far gone out of request, that they are quite neglected by this church, the power being given up into the hands of the magistrate; and what fasts we have now, are by the authority of the king and his council, made up of lords spiritual and temporal; and the most part of people know not whether they are the *English* saint's holy day or not, nor what saint it is; a confused, implicit way of fasting indeed: such juggling and dealing in such matters, and what may be their effects, consequences and tendencies, may be great thoughts of heart to all thinking souls in *Scotland*. There is ground to conclude, that if ever the Lord return to *Scotland*, and pour out a spirit of mourning upon us, we will mourn, that we have not mourned, and fast over our fastings, and mourn over our mournings; especially since the revolution, that the fasts we have had, have been so lame and defective in their causes.

Twelfthly, As this great duty of national humiliation is now neglected and spoiled, so the soul-refreshing sacrament of the Lord's supper is quite marred to many serious souls in many places of the land, ever since the greater part of ministers defiled their hands with these land-defiling oaths, which have made so many tender christians to scruple and scunner to take the food of their souls out of their unclean hands. Some, when they have begun to examine themselves and prepare for it, the national sins that ministers are guilty of, with their aggravating circumstances, have multiplied so in their eye, that their confusions, doubts and fears have been increased, and they made to question, if it was their duty to go there, or not: this has stopped some: others have gone over the belly of all these, and eaten doubtingly, and come home darkened, deadened, hardened, confused and discouraged: then again, others, who have gone to the non-swearers, some who travelled far, have been sadly disappointed, when they saw some of the swearing-ministers there, which had been great grief of heart to them; and when they have gone to the table, seeing *Non-jurants* standing by the elements, as if they were to serve that table, and *Jurants* sitting at the head of it as if they were to communicate, using that hen-wyle to get the tables full, many know what delays, stoppings and pressings to get the tables full; and when made up, *Jurants* have started up and served that table; which has so filled the souls of many worthy persons with confusions and discouragements, that have quite marred the rational exercise of their souls: instances of times, places and persons might here be given. By these, and many other instances, they and all may see, what a poor pass they have brought themselves into, and how contemptible, base and frightful they are to many solid, serious, tender, yea zealous souls, The worthy old Mr. *James Kirktoun* said, in a publick sermon at the *West-kirk*, *That our judgments would begin with divisions among ourselves; and many who now admired some ministers, would run the kirk when they saw them enter the pulpit*. Further, many who have been fully persuaded in their minds against hearing and receiving church privileges from them, have desired testificates

to go elswhere, where they might get cleanly, wholesome food to their souls, and be refreshed, strengthened and confirmed; which many have found in some places these years bygone, to their joyful experience. And when they have sought testificates to go elsewhere for baptism to their children, many ministers have not only refused, but boasted and threatened them, though they had nothing to say against their conversation; which hath obliged some to travel upwards of forty miles, who thereafter have been vexed with summonses before their judicatories, to give an account who baptized their children; and ministers, whom they suspected have met with no small trouble; yea, even in these parishes, where these hireling, intruding fleecers, *seeking their's, but not them*, have been thrust in upon them, not only without consent, but over the belly of all legal opposition, by force of armed men; frightful elders indeed! and many have taken more strick notice of honest, tender Dissenters, than of the most wicked or profane within their bounds and parishes. I have often thought, these several years, bygone, that it was a mercy to this land, that the government, in their wisdoms, overlooked Dissenters, and thought it not worth their while to take notice of them; for, if there had been as much of a persecuting spirit in the state, as there has appeared in the church, there had been sad news in this sinful land, that would have sounded in the ears of other nations. This might be instructed from times, persons and places; but for the time take these two following instances.

First, Their tossing and deposing of old, praying, pious Mr. *John Hepburn*, minister of the gospel at *Orr* in *Galloway*, instigating the state to detain him so long in prisons and confinements from his people; especially old Mr. *William Vetch* in *Dumfries*, who in his doated old age wrote so viperous and maliciously against him, which Mr. *Hepburn* did distinctly and satisfyingly answer, which are both published to the world; and all this for taking part with the bulk of the gleanings of that unheard-of persecution, who kept their ground in a legal testimony against all discouragements, against the backsliding courses, from the beginning, until that unhappy union, that the church went out of their sight, and lost

hope of their halting and returning : all which are to be found in their *Humble Pleadings for the good old Way*, which above all the divided parties in *Scotland*, since the Revolution, had most of the old covenanters' plea in hand : And for his pitying these honest dissenters in their melancholy circumstances, taking a turn three or four times yearly, in these corners where most of them resided, preaching Christ, catechising and baptizing their children. It might have been thought, if they had sight or sense of their offensive courses, and what stumbling-blocks they have laid in people's way, by their foul mismanagements, and if they had been ministers of gospel spirits, they would rather have rejoiced that Christ was preached, and the number of the visible church increased: considering also, that few or none of these dissenters would have come to them for church privileges, but were living without the gospel, and their children unbaptized, being as sheep without a shepherd, straying in pathless ways, running upon right hand extremes, as, alas ! too many have done.

A *Second* instance is, Their not only suspending and deposing, but running the height of excommunication of the pious and faithful Mr. *James Gilchrist*, minister of the gospel in *Dunscore* in the shire of *Nithsdale*, following the wicked hellish examble of their old plagued Resolution-fathers, who excommunicated worthy colonel *Strachan*, for his taking part with the *Protestors* against their unhappy courses of defection in that day : which excommunication many of the Lord's zealous people, ever since, reckoned among the causes of God's wrath. The presbytery of *Dumfries* did not only suspend and depose, but were authorized by the General Assembly for the excommunication of said Mr. *Gilchrist*, and by their authority intimate through all the kirks, which very few refused, whereby it became the deed of the whole church. The sentence was pronounced by Mr. *Paton*, minister in *Dumfries*, and all this for his not keeping communion with this whorish church, after the taking of these unhappy oaths though he went to that synod, to give his grounds and reasons, legally, wherefore he could not sit and keep communion with them as formerly ; where he met with very and unheard-of treat-

ment, when he would not take his seat calling to their officers to put him to the door; yet after he was gone, sent after him to return, and let bygones be bygones: notwithstanding of all that they had maliciously charged him with, of which he publickly vindicated himself, so that never one of them have contradicted; and for his protesting against their backsliding courses, and on a publick fast-day giving that bundle of oaths the deserved name perjuration; and for his pity and sympathy with honest *Dissenters*, preaching Christ and the way of salvation to them, and baptizing their children, all which they call *schism* and *irregularities*.

Yet, in his last words, he freely forgave them, and wished the Lord might forgive them, for all their unjust sentences and other hard speeches against him; and died in much peace, not regarding their unjust sentences, being persuaded and confirmed that he was in the Lord's way in all these steps. The old saying holds, that *All's well that ends well*: and if these backslidden, upsitten, lukewarm ministers, elders and professors, get not a *cast by common*, their sun will not set so clear, nor they lay down their heads in such peace, as the foresaid two, and many other worthies, whom they have vented their bastard-zeal against, whatever were their passing clouds; it being the crowning blessing of purchased and promised blessings, to die with full assurance of faith in the Lord.

I have often thought in my melancholy days, these years bygone, that if it might be supposed, that the souls of our worthies were come from heaven, and the dust of their mullered bodies from their graves, and reunite again, I mean, our *Hamiltons*, *Wishearts*, in that period, our *Knoxes*, *Welshes*, *Melvils*, *Davidsons*, *Bruces*, in that period; our *Rutherfords*, *Hendersons*, *Gillespies*, *Guthries*, *M'Wards*, *Browns*, *Livingstones*, in that period; our *M'Kells*, *Welwoods*, *Mitchels*, *Kings*, *Kids*, *Blackadders*, *Camerons*, *Cargills*, *Pedens*, *Renwicks*, *Shields*, with all the rest of the faithful followers of the Lamb; and if it might be supposed that they could be diverted from thinking and speaking of his decease, which he did accomplish at *Jerusalem*, and from what

they have felt, seen and heard since they left us; they would stand astonished, and not own us for their successors, that have come so far short of their piety, zeal and faithfulness, and few or none walked in the pathed way that they chalked out for us; and few or none contending earnestly for substance and circumstances, hair and hoof of that dear-bought testimony that they handed down to us by their fightings, wrestlings, prayers, tears and blood, for the which they counted nothing too dear; and now let so easily slip through our slippery, feeble, feckless fingers. What is easily come by, is oft easily parted with.

But I must, for a little, leave this melancholy day, and return to that good-ill time of persecution; a day of great sinning and suffering, which was a defiling furnace to the most part, and which is not purged away to this day; but a purifying day to those who keeped clean hands and garments: a day of the power of the gospel, to the conviction and conversion of many souls, which made some to call in question, if there had been a greater since the apostles' days, in so short a time, and so small bounds as in the south and west of *Scotland*, for some years after the standard of the gospel was publicly set up in the fields, especially on the four occasions of the sacraments dispensed in the open fields, *viz. Maybole*, *Irongrey*, *East Nisbet-haugh* and *Haugh-head*, in the years 1677, 1678, and 1679, before *Bothwel;* a day of great confirmations, support and comfort to the souls of his people, and of very remarkable steps of his providence towards their bodies, until they were some way fitted and spirited for trials, and their hour come, wherein the Lord answered them in the day of their distress, and wherein they had their *Bethels*, *Penuels* and *Mahanaims;* which made them to set up stones, and write on them *Ebenezer*, that hitherto had the Lord helped, and gave to both ministers and people the foresight and forethought of events, both as to the church, themselves, and others; but these dispensations required these manifestations. It was also a day of very astonishing apparitions, both in the firmament and upon the earth, which I can instruct the truth of: as, *First*, Before the gospel was sent to the fields and desart places, in the

year 1668, or 1669, in these places where the gospel was most frequently preached afterwards; how surprising and astonishing was the sight, both by night and day, of brae-sides covered with the appearance of men and women with tents, and voices heard in them! particularly, the first night that Mr. *John Dickson* preached in the fields in the night-time, east from *Glasgow* upon *Clide's*-side, his parish being on the south side, *Ruthglen*, where he was settled minister before the *unhappy restoration*, and after long persecution, and imprisonment in the *Bass* and other places, was re-settled there again, and died there since the revolution; that first night, several people together, before they came to the appointed place, they saw upon their way, a brae-side covered with the appearance of people, with a tent and a voice crying aloud, *This is the everlasting gospel: if ye follow on to know, believe and embrace this gospel, it shall never be taken from you:* when they came to join them, all disappeared: other companies of people in another way going there, heard a charming sweet sound of singing the 39*th Psalm*, which obliged them to stand still, until it was ended; other people who stayed at home, in several places, some heard the singing of the 44*th Psalm*, others the 46*th Psalm*. When the people who were there came home, they who stayed at home said, Where have you been so long? for the preaching was near-by, for we heard the *Psalms* sweetly sung, and can tell you a note of the *sermon*, which was the foresaid note. Worthy Mr. *John Blackadder*, who was a blest instrument, to the experience of many after this, who used to call these years the *blink*, was at all pains to examine the most solid christians in that bounds, upon their hearing and seeing these things, who all asserted the truth of the same; and there are some yet alive, worthy of all credit, who heard the said Mr. *Blackadder*, after this, discoursing with the foresaid Mr. *Dickson*, in *Borrowstonness*, in the house of skipper *William Horn*, that old exercised, singular, self-denied, tender christian, which is very rare to be found now. Mr. *Dickson* was modest, being preacher himself that night; but Mr. *Blackadder* concluded that it was of the Lord, and that the gospel would go to the

fields, and be blest with power and success there. A daughter of the said Mr. *Blackadder*, worthy of all credit, yet alive at *Edinburgh*, declares she heard her father relate the same to her mother, with cheerfulness.

Secondly, Before the gospel came to that known place, *Craigmad*, where it became frequent afterwards, to the sweet experience of some yet alive; it lies within the shire of *Stirling*, and betwixt the parish of *Falkirk* and *Moranside*: how many did see that know or brae-side, as close covered with the appearance of men and women? as they many times saw it afterwards, particularly one day, *Alexander Stirling*, who lived in the *Redden*, near that place, a solid, serious, zealous christian, who told this several times, to some yet alive, worthy of all credit, who told me of it, That he, with some others, one day was in that desart place, and saw that brae-side, close covered with the appearance of men and women, singing the 121*st Psalm*, with a milk-white horse, and blood-red saddle on his back, standing beside the people; which made that serious, discerning, observing christian conclude, that the gospel would be sent to that place; and that the white horse was the gospel, and the red saddle, persecution.

Thirdly, That known place *Darmead*, where the gospel was more frequent afterward, than any place I know, betwixt *Clidesdale* and *Lothian*. for which it was called the kirk of *Darmead*, five parishes meet about it; the like was seen there, singing the 59*th Psalm*. And whoever will consider these aforesaid *Psalms*, will see how suitable they were to these dispensations, and were oft sung by the Lord's suffering people in that time; but this brutish, carnal age, knows not what it is to syllable the scriptures, or feed upon them.

Fourthly. In the year 1678, in that spot of ground, without *Glasgow*, what showers of swords and bonnets fell there, with the appearance of armed men marching in order, where the Highland host drew up the same year that they came to the west, is known to many yet alive.

Fifthly, The blazing star that appeared for many nights together, after *Bothwel*, 1679, which was com-

monly called the *comet star;* which was long and bright like a rainbow, clearly seen through all *Europe*, for aught I know: when Mr. *Mackward*, who then was a dying, heard of it, he desired Mr. *Shields*, and other friends, to carry him out, that he might see it; when he saw it, he blest the Lord that he was now about to close his eyes, and was not to see the woful days that were coming upon *Britain* and *Ireland*, especially upon sinful *Scotland*.

Sixthly, In the year 1683, which was such a long and great frost, that from *November* to the middle of *March*, there was no labouring of the ground, yet even before the snow fell, when the earth was as iron, how many graves were in the west of *Scotland*, in desart places, in ones, twoes, threes, fours, fives together, which was no imaginary thing; many yet alive, who measured them with their staves exactly the deepness, breadth, and length of other graves, and the lump of earth lying whole together at their sides, which they set their feet upon, and handled them with their hands; which many concluded afterwards, did presage the two bloody slaughter-years that followed, 1684, and 1685, wherein 82 of the Lord's suffering people were suddenly and cruelly murdered in desart places, where ever that heaven-daring enemy found them, and few to make graves or bury them, for fear of that enemy, who left their dead bodies where they killed them.

Seventhly, In the year 1686, especially in the months of *June* and *July*, many yet alive can witness, that about the *Crosford-boat*, two miles beneath *Lanerk*, especially at the *Mains*, on the water of *Clyde*, many people gathered together for several afternoons, where there were showers of bonnets, hats, guns and swords, which covered the trees and ground, companies of men in arms marching in order upon the water-side, companies meeting companies, going all through other, and then all falling to the ground, and disappearing; and other companies immediately appearing the same way. I went there three afternoons together, and, as I could observe, there were two of the people that were together saw, and a third that saw not; and though I could see nothing, yet there was

such a fright and trembling upon these that did see, that was discernible to all from these that saw not. There was a gentleman standing next to me, who spake, as too many gentlemen and others speak, who said, *A pack of damn'd witches and warlocks, that have the second sight, the Devil-hai't do I see.* And immediately there was a discernible change in his countenance, with as much fear and trembling as any woman I saw there, who cried out, *O all ye that do not see, say nothing; for I persuade you it is a matter of fact, and discernible to all that is not stone-blind:* and those who did see, told what works the guns had, and their length and wideness, and what handles the swords had, whether small or three-barred, or Highland-guards, and the closing-knots of the bonnets, black or blue; and these who did see them there, where-ever they went abroad, saw a bonnet and a sword drop in the way. I have been at a loss ever since, what to make of this last: however a profane age may mock, disdain, and make sport of these extraordinary things, yet these are no new things, but some such things have been in former times, as *Fox*, *Clark*, and other historians give an account of; particularly, what strange apparitions were there seen in *Germany*, before these terrible forty years bloody wars broke out, which made *Luther* say to his daughter *Magdalene*, when a dying, *My daughter, enter thou into thy rest, for I will shortly be with thee; for God will not suffer me to see the heavy judgments of blood, famine and pestilence, poured out upon* Germany, *that I see hanging above it:* which came to pass shortly thereafter. And whatever singular passages are in this, and may be in the following sheets, that I design to publish, in the life and death of these following worthies, both ministers, martyrs, sufferers, men and women, as old Mr. *Semple* minister in *Carsfern*, Mr. *John Welwood*, Mr. *Richard Cameron*, Mr. *Donald Cargil*, Mr. *Alexander Peden*, which here follows, Mr. *James Renwick*, Mr. *Alexander Shields*, and about fifteen singular christians, some of them martyrs, who got no time to write, though most of them were my intimate acquaintance, of whom I have not the world to seek for these accounts about them; to-

gether with a short historical relation of the most remarkable things through the several periods of this church, especially in my own time, these 44 years past, that I have been witness to, which has been matter of great sorrow, and joy to me; as also some remarkable judgments inflicted upon some of our hand-weal'd persecutors, both in their life and death; also some remarks upon the mistakes of Mr. *Wodrow's* volumes. And what of all these passages I have not been ear and eye-witness unto, I have not wanted an open ear and ready mind, to drink in and retain these many years; and these few years past, I have spared neither travel, pains nor expense, in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, for further informations and confirmations; and as I have received them, I have insert them as near their own words as possible; and as I have not, so I shall neither add or diminish, or be biassed either with affection or prejudice; and I have insert nothing but what I dare with confidence assert, as to matter and substance, having insert nothing but what I have from persons of entire credit; only some few passages I have insert, and have not given the names of my authors, that have been passing from hand to hand these many years, without contradiction, and I doubt nothing of the truth of them, and I find many such instances in our authentick histories, as Mr. *Knox* words it, That it was *bruited*, that's commonly reported: and the late historian *Wodrow*, does the same, knowing that this is a censorious, head-strong age, meikle in their heads and mouths, but little in their hearts; the most part speaking with as much confidence, as wit and sense would live and die with them, and would not leave as much of it behind them that day their heads go to the grave, as to bewail their death, and lament their own misery. And further, being persuaded, that many will think and say, that I am more plain than pleasant, and some of all the divided parties will be offended, though I have neither given, desired, nor designed the offence of none, but the edification of all.

Whoever takes offence (yet I have given none, but spoken what many others through the land think) and have the maniest objections, let them lay the blame

entirely upon me, for I have consulted none, neither in matter nor method, no not so much as in the wording: and let none think that these are new flights, or flowing from prejudice or passion; but these have been my views and digested thoughts, that I have summer'd and winter'd these many years, according as they have come to pass. I know that ministers, elders and witty professors will have maniest exceptions and sharpest reflections, repentance in church-men being very rare; but who will either defend, deny or extenuate their guilt. Even an *Aaron*, who had his hand at one of the brutishest, basest actions that ever a saint of God had; and though he had not the impudence altogether to deny his dreadful guilt, being taken rud-hand by that rare man *Moses*, yet had the blushing confidence to extenuate and lay the blame upon the people. I have for some years altogether kept silence, knowing that it is in vain to speak to them, whatever their defections may be, while in the midst of the airy applause, vain-glory, pleasures and profits of the world: but I have often wished to have the occasion to speak with them upon these heads, if they die not stupid or insensible, when dying; and calling to mind one of the last advices of Mr. *Cargill*, within eight hours of his violent death, who said, *Cease to contend with these men that are gone from us*, meaning the *indulged*, back-slidden, silent and unfaithful ministers, and complying professors; for nothing will convince them but judgment.

But knowing also, that there is a goodly handful yet in the land, to whom these accounts will be acceptable, and some yet alive, who will bear witness to the truth of many of them; and further, being persuaded, that if ever the Lord pity this weather-beaten *Sardis*, *Laodicean* church, and send forth a thaw-wind, and spring-tide day of the gospel, to thaw the frozen face of affairs, as was at *Stewartoun*, and spread through the west of *Scotland*, as muir-burn, a hundred years since, and at the *Kirk of Shots* five years thereafter, and in our reforming covenanting days, between the thirty-eight and forty-nine, and in our late persecution, when his people were driven to the wilderness, then the Lord

allured and spake comfortably to them there (when they got their bread with the peril of their life, because of the sword of that devouring enemy) that these and many other things that now are wersh and unsavoury, will come in request again.

But finding myself obliged to divide these relations into parcels, I have concluded, for the time, to publish the life and death of Mr. *Peden*, with a letter that he sent to upwards of eight-score of prisoners in *July* the year 1685, in *Dunnottar-castle*, with some notes upon the *covenant of redemption*, which I can assert the truth of, being one of them: and for the rest, I resolve, if the Lord spare, to put them in some order; and if I cannot get them published, to leave them in the hands of some of my best friends of different sentiments, to prevent the burying or altering of them; having longed for some years to have my head drained, and my mind emptied of these relations, finding myself stricken in years, and not knowing when the day of my death may be, calling to mind the old saying, *That when once a man pass fifty, he goes; sixty, he runs; and seventy, he flies:* as also the advice of Mr. *James Renwick*, and some others, whose names are savoury to me, who advised me to take heed to myself, of all I had, and might be witness unto; for if I took all to the grave with my head, I would not lay it down in peace: and there being so much depends on that: this also has had its own weight with me.

And so I conclude with an earnest desire from the bottom of my heart, that never none of the Lord's people, that comes after me, may experience the hundredth part of the toil of my body, and sorrow of heart, and grief of mind these forty-eight years, that I have had, in the seeing, hearing and gathering these accounts, and chewing of my cud upon them; but upon the contrary, it is, and shall be the serious wish of my soul, that all may exceed and outstrip me in joy, comfort and edification: and let this stand good for preface to all.

P. W.

THE

LIFE AND DEATH

OF

MR. ALEXANDER PEDEN,

LATE MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL AT NEW GLENLUCE IN GALLOWAY.

Who died the 28th of *January* 1686, being about sixty years of age.

I. HE was born in the parish of Sorn in the county of Air. After he past his courses at the college, he was employed for some time to be schoolmaster, precentor and session-clerk to Mr. John Guthry minister of the gospel at Tarbolton. When he was about to enter the ministry, a young woman fell to be with child in adultery; a servant in that house where he staid. When she found herself with child, she told the father thereof. He said, *I'll run for it, and go to* Ireland; *father it upon* Mr. Peden; *he has more to help thee to bring it up* (he having a piece of heritage) *than I have.* The same day that he was to get his act of license, she came in before the presbytery, and said, *I hear you are to license* Mr. Peden *to be a minister; do it not, for I am with child by him.* He being without at the time, was called in; the moderator told him; he stood for some time silent, and then said, *Moderator, I am so surprised, that I cannot speak; but let none entertain any ill thoughts of me, for I am utterly free of it, and God will vindicate me in his own time and way.* He then went home, and walked at a

water-side, upwards of twenty-four hours, and would neither eat nor drink: at last he came in, and said, *Give me meat and drink, for I have got what I was seeking; and I will be vindicated, and that poor unhappy lass will pay dear for it in her life, and at last make a dismal end. And for this surfeit of grief that she has given me, there shall never one of her sex come to my bosom;* accordingly he never married. There are various reports of the manner of his vindication. Some say that in the time of her labor, Mr. Guthry charged her to give an account who was the father of the child, and discharged the women to be helpful to her, till she did it. Some say, that she confessed; others, that she remained obstinate. Some of the old people, when I made enquiry about it, affirmed, that after the presbytery had been at all pains about it, but to no purpose, they appointed Mr. Guthry to give a full narrative of the whole, to the congregation, which he did, the father of the child being present; who stood up, and desired Mr. Guthry to halt, openly confessed his being the father of the child, and that he advised the woman to father it upon Mr. Peden, which had so much troubled his conscience, that he could get no rest, till he should return home on purpose to declare it, and vindicate the innocence of the most injured worthy man. However, certain it is, that afterwards they were married; every thing went cross to them; they wandered from place to place, and were reduced to great poverty: and at last, she came to that same spot of ground, where he staid twenty four hours, and made away with herself.

II. After this, he was three years settled minister in New-Glenluce in Galloway; and when he was obliged, by the violence and tyranny of that time, to leave his parish, he lectured upon the 20th chapter of the Acts, from the 17th verse to the end, and preached in the forenoon, upon the 31st verse; *Therefore watch, and remember that by the space of three years, I ceased not to warn every one, night and day with tears.* Asserting, that he had declared the whole counsel of God, and had kept nothing back; protesting that he was free of the blood of all souls. In the afternoon, he

preached upon the 32d verse; *And now, brethren, I commend you to God, and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up, and give you an inheritance among them that are sanctified.* This was a weeping day in that kirk, the greater part of the hearers not being able to contain themselves. He many times requested them to be silent; but they sorrowed most of all, when he told them that they should never see his face in that pulpit again. He continued until night; and when he closed the pulpit-door, he knocked hard upon it three times with his bible, saying three times over, *I arrest thee in my Master's name, that none ever enter thee, but such as come in at the door, as I did.* Accordingly, neither curate nor indulged ever entered that pulpit, till after the Revolution, that it was opened by a Presbyterian minister.

III. After this he joined with that honest, zealous handfull in the year 1666, that was broke at Pentlandhills, and came the length of Clyde with them, where he had a melancholy view of their end, and parted with them there. James Cubison in Baluchbeaties, my informer, to whom he told this, said to him, *Sir, you did well that parted with them, seeing you was persuaded they would fall and flee before the enemy.* At which he was offended, and said, *Glory, glory to God, that he sent me not to hell immediately; for I should have stayed with them, though I should have been cut in pieces.*

IV. That night, the Lord's people fell and fled before the enemy at Pentlandhills, he was in a friend's house in Carrick, threescore miles from Edinburgh: his landlord seeing him mightily troubled, enquired how it was with him. He told him he would speak with him the next day; and in the mean time desired a candle, but did not go to bed. In the morning early, calling the landlord, said, *I have sad news to tell you; our friends that were together in arms, appearing for Christ's interest, are now broken, killed, taken and fled, every man.* The landlord said, *Lord forbid that be true.* He said, *Why do you speak so? There is a great number of our friends prisoners at* Edinburgh. About forty-eight hours thereafter, they were sadly confirmed of

the truth of it. This was spoken to William Machucheon in Barrautbrough parish.

V. After this, in June 1673, he was taken by major Cockburn, in the house of Hugh Ferguson of Knockdow in Carrick, who constrained him to tarry all night. Mr. Peden told him it would be a dear night's quarters to them both: accordingly they were both carried prisoners to Edinburgh. Hugh Ferguson was fined in a thousand Merks for reset, harbour, and converse with him: the council ordered fifty pounds sterling to be paid to the major out of the fine, and ordained him to divide twenty-five pounds sterling among the party who apprehended them: sometime after examination, he was sent prisoner to the Bass, where he remained prisoner, there and at Edinburgh, until December 1678, that he was banished.

VI. While prisoner in the Bass one Sabbath morning, being about the public worship of God, a young lass, about the age of thirteen or fourteen years, came to the chamber door, mocking with loud laughter: he said, *Poor thing, thou mocks and laughs at the worship of God; but ere long, God shall write such a sudden surprising judgment on thee, that shall stay thy laughing, and thou shalt not escape it.* Very shortly thereafter, she was walking upon the rock, and there came a blast of wind, and sweeped her off the rock into the sea, where she was lost.

While prisoner there, one day walking upon the rock, some soldiers passing by him, one of them cried, 'the devil take him;' he said, 'fy, fy, poor man, thou knowest not what thou'rt saying, but thou wilt repent that;' at which words the soldier stood astonished, and went to the guard distracted, crying aloud for Mr. Peden, saying, 'The devil would immediately take him away.' He came and spoke to him, and prayed for him; the next morning he came to him again, and found him in his right mind, under deep convictions of great guilt. The guard being to change, they desired him to go to his arms; he refused, and said, 'I will lift no arms against Jesus Christ, his cause, and persecute his people; I have done that too long:' the governor threatened him with death to-morrow at ten

o'clock ; he confidently said three times, 'Though he should tear all his body to pieces, he should never lift arms that way.' About three days after, the governor put him out of the garrison, setting him ashore : he having wife and children, took a house in East-Lothian, where he became a singular christian. Mr Peden told these astonishing passages to the foresaid James Cubison, and others, who informed me.

VII. When brought from the Bass to Edinburgh, and sentence of banishment passed upon him, in December, 1678, and sixty more fellow prisoners for the same cause, to go to America, never to be seen in Scotland again, under the pain of death : after this sentence was past, he several times said, 'That that ship was not yet built, that would take him or these prisoners to Virginia, or any other of the English plantations in America.' One James Law, a solid grave christian man, being one of them, who lived in or about the water of Leith, told me this, that Mr. Peden said to him, 'James, when your wife comes in, let me see your wife,' which he did : going to Mr. Peden's room, after some discourse, he called for a drink ; and when he sought a blessing, he said 'Good Lord let not James Law's wife miss her husband, until thou return him to her, in peace and safety, which we are sure will be sooner than either he or she is looking for ;' accordingly, that same day month that he parted with her at Leith, he came home to her at the water of Leith.

VIII. When they were on ship-board in the road of Leith, there was a report that the enemies were to send down thumbikins to keep them from rebelling ; at the report of this, they were discouraged ; he came above deck, and said, 'Why are you so discouraged ? you need not fear, there will neither thumbikin nor bootikin come here ; lift up your hearts and heads, for the Day of your redemption draweth near ; if we were once at London, we will be all set at liberty.' And when sailing in their voyage praying publicly, he said, 'Good Lord such is the enemies' hatred at thee, and malice at us, for thy sake, that they will not let us stay in thy land of Scotland, to serve thee, though some of us have nothing but the canopy of thy heavens above

us, and the earth to tread upon; but Lord, we bless thy name, that will cut short our voyage, and frustrate thy wicked enemies of their wicked designs, and will not get us where they intend; and some of us shall go richer home, than when we came from home.' James Pride, who lived in Fife, an honest man, being one of them, said many times he could assert the truth of this. I had these accounts both from the foresaid James Law and Robert Pouman, a known publick man, worthy of all credit, who was also under the same sentence, who lived in the parish of Dalmeny near the Queen's ferry.

IX. When they arrived at *London*, the skipper who received them at *Leith*, was to carry them no further; the skipper who was to receive them there, and to carry them to *Virginia*, came to see them, they being represented to him, as thieves, robbers and evil doers; but when he found that they were all grave christian men, banished for Presbyterian principles, he said, he would sail the seas with none such. In this confusion that the one skipper would not receive them, and the other would keep them no longer, being expensive to maintain them, they were all set at liberty. Others reported, that both skippers got compliments by friends at *London;* however, it is certain, they were safely set free, without any imposition of bonds or oaths; and friends at *London*, and on their way homeward through *England*, shewed much kindness to them.

X. That dismal day the 22d of June, in the year 1679, at Bothwel-bridge, that the Lord's people fell and fled before the enemy, he was forty miles distant, near the border, kept himself retired until the middle of the day, that some friends said to him, *Sir the people are waiting for sermon.* He said, *Let the people go to their prayers; for me, I neither can nor will preach any this day; for our friends are fallen and fled before the enemy at Hamilton; and they are hagging and hashing them down, and their blood is running like water.*

XI. After this he was preaching in Galloway: in the forenoon he prayed earnestly for the prisoners

taken at and about Bothwel; but in the afternoon, when he began to pray for them, he halted and said, *Our friends at Edinburgh, the prisoners, have done somewhat to save their lives; but as the Lord lives that shall not do with them, but the sea billows shall be many of their winding sheets, and the few of them that escape shall be useful for God in their generation*—which was sadly verified thereafter. That which the greatest part of these prisoners did, was the taking of that bond, commonly called the *black bond* after Bothwel, wherein they acknowledged their appearance in arms for the defence of the gospel, and their own lives, to be rebellion; and engaged themselves, never to make any more opposition that way. Upon the doing of which, these perfidious enemies promised them life and liberty; this, with the cursed subtile arguments and advices of several ministers, who went into the New yard, where they were prisoners, particularly Mr. Hugh Kennedy, Mr. William Creighton, Mr. Edward Jamison, and Mr. George Johnston; these took their turns into the yard where the prisoners were, together with a letter that was sent from that Erastian meeting of ministers, met at Edinburgh, in August 1679, for the accepting of a third indulgence with the cautionary bond. Notwithstanding of the enemy's promise, and the unhappy advice of these ministers not indulged, after they were ensnared in this foul compliance, banished two hundred and fifty-five, whereof two hundred and three perished in the Orkney seas. This foul step, as some of them told me, both in their life, and when dying, lay heavy upon them all their days; and that these unhappy arguments and advices of ministers, prevailed more with them, than the enemy's promise of life and liberty.

In August 1679, fifteen of Bothwel prisoners got indictments of death. Mr. Edward Jamison, a worthy Presbyterian minister, as Mr. Woodrow calls him, was sent from that Erastian meeting of ministers, into the tolbooth, to these fifteen, who urged the lawfulness of taking the bond, to save their lives; and the refusal of it would (he told them) bring a reflection on religion and the cause they had appeared for, and a

throwing away of their lives, for which their best friends would not be able to vindicate them; and thus he prevailed with thirteen of them. But this soured in the stomachs of some of them, and lay heavy upon them, both in their life, and at their death. These prisoners, taken at, and about the time of Bothwell, were reckoned about fifteen hundred.

The faithful Mr. John Blackadder did write to these prisoners, dissuading them from that foul compliance; and some worthy persons of these prisoners, whom he wrote to, said to me with tears, *That they slighted his advice, and followed the unhappy advices of these ministers, who were making peace with the enemies of God, and followed their foul steps, for which they would go mourning to their graves.* I heard the said Mr. Blackadder preach his last public sermon, before his falling into the enemy's hands, in the night time, in the fields, in the parish of Livingstoun, upon the side of the moon, at the New-house, on the 28th of March, after Bothwell, where he lectured upon Micah iv, 9, where he asserted, 'That the nearer the delivery, our pains 'and showers would come thicker and sorer upon us: 'and that we had been in the fields; but here we were 'delivered, we would go down to Babylon. That ei-'ther popery would overspread this land, or would be 'at the breaking in upon us, like an inundation of wa-'ters.' And preached upon that text, that *No man should be moved with these afflictions, for ye yourselves know that ye are appointed thereunto:* where he insisted upon what moving and shaking dispensations the Lord had exercised his people with, in former ages; especially that man of God that went to Jeroboam's Bethel, and delivered his commission faithfully, and yet turned out of the way by an old lying false prophet; how moving and stumbling the manner of his death was to all Israel: and earnestly requested us to take good heed what ministers we heard, and what advices we followed. When he prayed, he blessed the Lord, that he was free both of bond and rope; and that he was as clear, willing and free to hold up the public blest standard of the gospel, as ever; and said, 'The Lord rebuke, and give repentance and for-

giveness to these ministers that persuaded these prisoners to take that bond; for their perishing by sea, was more moving and shaking to him, than if some thousands of them had been slain in the field.' He was thereafter taken, the 6th day of April by major Johnston in Edinburgh, and detained prisoner in the Bass for five years, where he died. As the interest of Christ lay near his heart, throughout his whole life, among his last words, he said, 'The Lord would defend his own cause.'

XII. After the public murdering of these two worthy women-martyrs, Isabel Alison, and Marion Harvie, in the Grass-market of Edinburgh, January 1681, he was in Galloway; a professor of some note, who had more carnal wit and policy, than suffer him to be honest and faithful, after reasoning upon the grounds of their sufferings, affirmed, That they would never be reckoned among the number of the martyrs. Mr. Peden said, after musing a little, 'Let alone, you'll never be honored with such a death; and, for what you have said against these two honest, worthy lasses, your death shall be both sudden and surprising.' Which was verified shortly thereafter; that man, standing before a fire smoking his pipe, dropt down dead, and that without speaking more.

XIII. In the month of June 1682, he was in the house of James Brown in Paddockholm above Douglas; John Wilson in Lanerk was with him, who suffered martyrdom in the Grass-market of Edinburgh, the next year, May 1683. He lectured at night upon the 7th chapter of Amos, and repeated these words in the 9th verse three times, 'And I will rise against the house of Jeroboam with the sword.' He laid his hands on the said John, and said, 'John, Have at the unhappy race of the name of Stewarts; off the throne of Britain they shall go, if all the world would set side and shoulder to hold them on.' Afterwards, in that exercise, he broke out in a rapture about our martyrs, saying, 'They are going off the stage with fresh gales and full sails, and now they are all glancing in glory; O if you saw them! they would fley you out of your wits.' He again laid his hands upon the said John,

and said, 'Encourage yourself in the Lord, and follow fast, John; for you'll win up yonder shortly, and get on a' your bra's.' That night he went to the fields; to-morrow, about six o'clock, John went to seek him, and found him coming to the house: he said, 'John, Let us go from this house, for the Devil is about it, and will take his prey with him.' John said, 'We will take breakfast ere we go, 'tis a question when we will get the offer again.' He said, 'No, no, I will eat no more bread in this place; our landlord is an unhappy man, the Devil will get him shortly, for he will hang himself:' which shortly after came to pass. His daughter Jean Brown was the first that got him, in her arms, hanging in the stable; she was reckoned by all to be a grave christian lass; but from that day had never her health, and died of a decay at last, after she had been some time in prison for her principles. This passage the said John Wilson reported several times to many, and some yet alive can bear witness to the truth of it.

XIV. In the year 1680, after the murdering of Mr. Cameron and these worthies with him at Airdsmoss, he was near Machline in the shire of Air. One Robert Brown of Crosshouse, who lived near the Newmills, and one Hugh Pinaneve factor to the earl of Lowdon, stabled their horse in that house where he was, and went to a fair in Machline; and in the afternoon, when they came to take their horse, they got a drink, and in the time of it, the said Hugh, a wicked wretch both in principle and practice, broke out in railing against sufferers, particularly against Mr. Cameron. Mr. Peden being in another room, over-hearing all, was so grieved, that he came to the chamber door, and said the said Hugh, 'Sir, hold your peace; ere twelve o'clock you shall know what for a man Mr. Cameron was; God shall punish that blasphemous mouth and cursed tongue of yours, in such manner as shall be astonishing and affrighting to all that shall see you; and shall set you up as a beacon to all railing Rabshakehs.' Robert Brown knowing Mr. Peden, hasted to his horse, being persuaded that Mr. Peden's words would not fall to the ground; and fearing that

some mischief might befal him for being in the said Hugh's company. They rode hard home; Robert went to his own house, and Hugh to the earl's house; and casting off his boots, he was struck with such sickness and pain through his body, with his mouth so wide, and his tongue hanging so far out in a fearful manner, they sent for the said Robert, being used to take blood: he got some blood of him, but all in vain; he died before midnight. The said Robert, an old man, told me this passage, when in prison together.

XV. In the year 1682, he was in Kyle, and preaching upon that text, 'The ploughers ploughed upon my back, and drew long their furrows;' where he said, 'Would you know who first yoked this plough? it was cursed Cain, when he drew his furrows so long, and so deep, that he let out the heart-blood of his brother Abel; and all his cursed seed has, and will design, desire, and endeavour to follow his cursed example: and that plough has, and will gang summer and winter, frost and fresh weather, till the world's end; and at the sound of the last trumpet, when all are in a flame, their theats will burn, and their swingle-trees will fall to the ground; the plough-men will lose their grips of the plough, and the gade-men will throw away their gades; and then, O the yelling and screeching that will be among all his cursed seed, clapping their hands, and crying to hills and mountains to cover them from the face of the Lamb, and of him that sits upon the throne, for their hatred of him, and malice at his people!'

After sermon, when marrying a pair of folk, when the man had the woman by the hand, he said, 'Indeed man, you have a bonny bride by the hand, I see a covetous devil in her, she is both a thief and a whore, let her go, let her go, you will be ashamed of her;' the man kept fast her hand; he said, 'You will not take my advice, but it will tend to thy disgrace:' after marriage, when praying, he said, 'Good Lord, many a plough hath been yoked upon the back of thy church in Scotland, Pagans yoked their's, Antichrist yoked his, and Prelacy her's, and now the plagued Erastian indulged, they have yoked their's, and ill it became

them: Good Lord, cut their theats, that their swingle-trees may fall to the ground.' Ensign John Kirkland was witness to this sermon and marriage, he was my very dear acquaintance, who told me several times of this, and more of that sermon.

XVI. About the same time, he was marrying a pair of folk; he said to the one, *Stand by, I will not marry you this day;* the bridegroom was anxious to know his reason, after marriage enquired privately; he said, *You will thank me for this afterwards, and think yourself well quit of her, for she is with child to another wife's husband.* Which was matter of fact, as time afterwards discovered.

XVII. Shortly after that sad stroke at *Bothwel* he went to *Ireland*, but did not stay long at that time. In his travels through *Galloway*, he came to a house, and looked in the good man's face, and said, *They call you an honest man, but if you be so, you look not like it, you will not long keep that name, but you will discover yourself to be what you are;* and shortly thereafter he was made to flee for stealing sheep. In that short time he was in *Ireland*, the government required of all Presbyterian ministers in *Ireland*, 'That they should 'give it under their hand, that they had no accession 'to the late rebellion at *Bothwel*-bridge in *Scotland*, 'and that they did not approve of it.' Which the most part did, and sent Mr. *Thomas Gowans*, a *Scotsman*, and one Mr. *Paton*, from the north of *Ireland*, to *Dublin*, to present it to the lord lieutenant; the which when Mr. *Peden* heard, he said, *Mr.* Gowans *and his brother* Paton *are sent and gone the Devil's errand, but God shall arrest them by the gate.* Accordingly Mr. *Gowans* by the way was struck with a sore sickness, and Mr. *Paton* fell from his horse and broke or clusht his leg; and both of them were detained beyond expectation. I had this account from some worthy christians when I was in *Ireland*.

XVIII. In the year 1682, he married *John Brown* in *Kyle*, at his own house in Priesthall, that singular christian, Isabel Weir; after marriage he said to the bride, Isabel, *you have got a good man to be your husband, but you will not enjoy him long; prize his compa-*

ny, and keep linen by you to be his winding sheet, for you will need it when you are not looking for it, and it will be a bloody one; this came sadly to pass in the beginning of May 1685, as afterwards shall be made appear.

XIX. After this, in the year 1682, he went to *Ireland* again, and came to the house of William Steil, in *Glenwhary* in the county of *Antrim*; he enquired of Mrs. Steil, if she wanted of a servant for threshing victual? She said, she did, and enquired what his wages was a day or a week? He said, the common rate was a common rule, to which she assented; at night he was put to the barn, to bed with the servant lad, and that night he spent in prayer, and groaning up and down the barn; to morrow he threshed victual with the lad; the next night he spent the same way; the second day in the morning, the lad said to his mistress, this man sleeps none, but groans and prays all night, I get no sleep with him; he threshes very well, not sparing of himself; though I think he has not been used with it, for he can do nothing to the bottling and ordering of the barn; and when I put the barn in order, he goes to such a place and there he prays for the afflicted church of *Scotland*, and names so many people in the furnace. He wrought the second day: his mistress watched and overheard him praying, as the lad had said; at night she desired her husband to enquire if he was a minister; which he did, and desired him to be free with him, and he should not only be no enemy but a friend to him. Mr. *Peden* said, he was not ashamed of his office; and gave an account of his circumstances; he was no more set to work, nor to lie with the lad. He stayed a considerable time in that place, and was a blest instrument in the conversion of some, and civilizing of others; though that place was noted for a rude wild people, and the fruits of his labors appear to this day: there was a servant lass in that house, that he could not look upon but with frowns; and sometimes when at family worship, he said, pointing to her with a frowning countenance, *You come from the barn and from the byre, reeking in your lusts, and sits down among us; we do not want you, nor none*

such. At last he said to *William Steil* and his wife, *Put away this unhappy lass from your house, for she will be a stain to your family, for she is with child, and will murder it, and will be punished for the same.* Which accordingly came to pass, and she was burnt at *Craigfergus*; which is the usual punishment of murderers of children there. I had this account from *John Muirhead*, who stayed much in that house, and other christian people when I was in *Ireland.*

XX. On the 2*d* day of *August*, 1684, he was in a christian *Scots* woman's house, called Margaret Lumbernor: that day there was an extraordinary shower of big hail, such as never had been seen the like: she said, *What can be the meaning of this extraordinary hail?* He said, *Within a few years there would be an extraordinary storm and shower of judgments poured out upon Ireland*; but, Meg, said he, *you shall not live to see it;* and accordingly she died before that rebellion; and the rest had a sad accomplishment at *Derry* and the water of *Boyne.*

XXI. On the 2d of February 1685, he was in the house of one Mr. Vernor, in the same county, at night he and John Kilpatrick, Mrs. Vernor's father, a very worthy old christian; he said to him, *John, the world may well want you and me.* John said *Sir, I have been very fruitless and useless all my days, and the world may well want me; but your death would be a great loss. Well John you and I will be both in heaven shortly; but though you be much older than I, my soul will get the forestart of yours, for I will be first in heaven, but your body will have the advantage of mine. for ye will get rest in your grave till the resurrection; but for me, I must go home to the bloody land,* (for this was his ordinary way of speaking, bloody, or sinful land: when he spake of Scotland) *and die there; and the enemies, out of their great wickedness, will lift my corpse unto another place; but I am very indifferent, John; for I know my body shall lie among the dust of the martyrs, and though they should take my old bones and make whistles of them, they will be all gathered together on the morning of the resurrection; and then John, you and I, and all that will be found having on Christ's righte-*

rusness will get day about with them, and give our hearty assent to their eternal sentence of damnation. The same night after this discourse, while about family-worship, about ten or eleven o'clock, and explaining the portion of scripture he read, he suddenly halted and hearkened, and said three times over, *what's this I hear?* and hearkened again a little time, and clapt his hands, and said, *I hear a dead shot at the throne of Britain: let him go yonder, for he has been a black sight to these lands, especially to poor Scotland; we're well quit of him; there has been many a wasted prayer waired on him.* And it was concluded by all, the same hour, in the same night, that unhappy man, Charles the II. died. I had this account from John Muirhead and others, who were present, and confirmed in the truth of them by some worthy christians, when I was in Ireland.

XXII. Upon the 4th of February following, 1685, he preached at Woodside, near the said Mr. Vernor's house; he read the whole 59th Psalm; after reading he charged his hearers, that none of them open their mouth to sing, but those who could do it knowingly and believingly: for some few lines, few opened their mouths; but as John Muirhead and John Waddle who were then present, two solid christians and great sufferers, who lived and died in the parish of Cambusnethan, or Shots, said to me, they, and the greater part could not contain and forbear singing, but broke out with their hearts and whole strength, so that they were never witness to such loud singing through the whole Psalm. After singing in preface, he cried out, *Pack and let us go to Scotland, pack and let us go to Scotland, let us flee from one devouring sword and go to another: the poor honest lads in Scotland are running upon the hills, and have little, either meat or drink, but cold and hunger; and the bloody enemy are pursuing them, and murdering them wherever they find them. their blood is running like water upon scaffolds and fields: rise, let us go and take part with them, for we fear they bar us out of heaven. Oh secure Ireland, a dreadful day is coming upon thee, within a few years, that they shall ride many miles, and shall not see a reeking house in thee:*

Oh hunger, hunger in Derry, many a black and pale face shall be in thee; and fire, fire upon a town, whose name I have forgot, which was all burnt to ashes. This had an exact accomplishment four years thereafter. *And for the profanity of England, and formality and security of Ireland; for the loathing and contempt of the gospel, covenant breaking, and burning, and innocent blood in Scotland, none of these bands shall escape ere all be done: but notwithstanding all this, I'll tell you good news, keep in mind this year, month and day: and remember that I told you, that the enemies have got a shot beneath their right wing, and they may rise and fly like a shot bird, but ere this day seven years, the strongest of them all shall fall* Then upon the sixth he was in that wood all day, and at night he came into the said Mr. Vernor's house, where several of our Scots sufferers were; he said, *Why are you so discouraged? I know you've got ill news of the dreadful murder of our friends in Scotland; but I'll tell you good news, That unhappy, treacherous, leacherous man, who has made the Lord's people in Scotland tremble these years bygone, has got his last glut in a lordly dish from his brother; and he is lying with his tongue cold in his mouth.* The news of this came not to Ireland for twenty-four hours thereafter. The aforesaid John Muirhead and John Waddle, and others of our Scots sufferers; who had heard him preach the sabbath before, concluded, that this was the shot beneath the right wing, that he spake of, Charles II. being dead the Friday night before.

XXIII. After this, he longed to be out of Ireland, what through the fearful apprehensions of that dismal day of rebellion in Ireland, and that he might take part with the sufferers of Scotland, he came near the coast one morning; John Muirhead came to him lying within a hedge; he said, *Have you any news*, John? *John said, There is great fears of the Irish arising, he said, No, no, the time of their arising is not yet; but they will rise, and dreadful will it be at last.* He was long detained waiting for a bark, not daring to go to public ports, but to some remote creek of the sea; Alexander Gordon of Kirstuir in Galloway, had agreed with one, but Mr. Peden would not sail the sea

with him ; Mr. Peden having somewhat of the foresight of what he did prove afterwards : in the beginning of August before, this Kinstuir was relieved at Enterkin-path, going from Dumfries to Edinburg prisoner. When the news of it came to Ireland, our Scots sufferers their acquaintance, were glad of the news, especially that Kinstuir was escaped. He said, *What means all this Kinstuiring, Kinstuiring? there's some of them relieved there, that one of them is worth many of him ; ye'll all be ashamed of him ere all be done.* Being in this strait, he said to Robert Wark, who is yet alive near Glasgow, an old christian worthy of credit, *Robert, go and take such a man with you, and the first bark you can find, compel them, for they will be like the dogs in* Egypt, *not one of them will move their tongues against you* ; accordingly, Robert and his comrade found it so, and brought her to that secret place where he was. Robert and his comrade came and told him ; he was very kind and free ; he seemed to be under a cloud at that time. He said, *Lads, I have lost my prospect, wherewith I was wont to look over to the bloody land, and tell you and others what enemies and friends were doing. The Devil and I puddles and rides time about upon other ; but if I were upermost again, I shall ride hard, and spurgaw well. I have been praying for a swift passage to the sinful land, come of us what will ; and now* Alexander Gordon *is away with my prayer wind, but it were good for the remnant in Scotland, he never saw it ; for as the Lord lives, he shall wound that interest, ere he go off the stage ;* which sadly came to pass in his life, and was a reproach to it at his death. A little before they came off, he baptized a child to John Maxwell, of Glasgow, who fled over from the persecution : in his discourse before the baptism, he burst out into a rapture, foretelling that black day that came upon Ireland, and sad days upon Scotland ; and then good days. Mrs. Maxwell, the mother of the child yet alive in Glasgow, told me this, That in the very time he was asserting these things, she was thinking and wondering what grounds or assurance he had for them ; on which he cried aloud, shaking his hand at her, said

"Woman, thou art thinking and wondering within thyself, whether I be speaking these things out of the visions of mine own head, or if I be taught by the spirit of God; but I tell thee, woman, thou shalt live and see that I am not mistaken. She told me, That she was very lately delivered; and out of her great desire to have her child baptized before he came off, that she took travail too soon, and being weak, and so surprized with telling her the thoughts of her heart, that she was in danger of falling off the chair. At this exercise he also told them, 'That he could not win off 'till he got this done, and that this was all the drink money he had to leave in Ireland, and to the family, pointing to his landlord, for all the kindness he had met with from them. After baptism, they got breakfast; there was plenty of bread upon the table, and seeking a blessing, he put his hands beneath the bread holding it up with much affection and tears, said, "Lord, there is a well covered table and plenty of "bread; but what comes of the poor, young, kindly, "honest lad Renwick, that shames us all; in staying "and holding up his fainting swooning mother's head, "now when of all the children she has brought forth "there's none will avowedly take her by the hand; "and the poor, cold, hungry lads upon the hills, for "the honor of thine own cause, let them not starve "thou causedst a ravenous beast, greedy of flesh itself, "feed Elijah; and thou fed thy people in the wilder-"ness with angel's food, and blessed a few loaves and "small fishes, and made them sufficient for many, and "had experience of want, weariness, cold and hunger, "and enemies daily hunting for thy life, while in the "world; look to them and provide for them; we'll "all get the black stone for leaving him and them.

The waiters being advertised of the bark in that place, they and other people came upon them, which obliged them that were to come off, to secure the waiters and people altogether, for fear of the garrison of Craigfergus apprehending them, being near to it, which obliged them to come off immediately, however it might be with them: after that, he and twenty-six of our Scots sufferers came aboard; he stood

upon the deck and prayed, being not the least of wind, where he made a rehearsal of times and places, when and where the Lord had heard and answered them in the day of their distress, and now they were in a great strait. Waving his hands to the West, from whence he desired the wind, said, "Lord, give us a loof-full of "wind; fill the sails, Lord, and give us a fresh gale, "and let us have a swift and safe passage over to the "bloody land, come of us what will." John Muirhead, Robert Wark, and others who were present told me, that when he began to pray, the sails were all hanging straight down; but ere he ended, they were all like blown bladders; they put out the waiters and other people, and got a very safe and swift passage. The twenty-six Scots sufferers that were with him, having provided themselves with arms, and being designed to return to Scotland, being then such a noise of killing; and indeed the din was no greater than the deed, being in the heat of killing time, and in the end of *February* 1685. When at exercise at night, in the bark, he said, "Lord, thou knowest their lads "are hot-spirited, lay an arrest upon them, that they "may not appear: their time is not yet; though Mon-"mouth and Argyle be coming, they'll work no de-"liverance." And at this time, no report of their coming, and they came not for ten weeks thereafter. In the morning after they landed, he lectured before they parted, sitting on a bræ-side, where he had fearful threatenings against Scotland, saying, The time was coming, that they might travel many miles in Galloway and Nithsdale, Air and Clidsdale, and not see a reeking house, nor hear a cock crow: and further said, That his soul trembled to think, what would become of the indulged, backslidden and upsitten ministers of Scotland. "As the Lord lives, said he, none of them shall be honored to put a right pin in the Lord's tabernacle; nor assert Christ's kingly prerogative, as head and king of his church. To the same purpose, said the never to be forgotten Mr. Donald Cargil, within eight hours of his martyrdom, "That he feared, though there were not another ministry in all the earth, he would make no use of them, in a nation-

al reformation; but dreadful judgments upon themselves, and a long curse upon their posterity." And Rutherford said, in his day 1656, 'That sad and heavy were the judgments, and indignation from the Lord that was abiding the unfaithful watchmen of Scotland:' meaning the unhappy resolutioners. When ended, he prayed earnestly for many things; particularly, That all their Ireland sins might be buried in that place, and might not spread with them through the sinful land.

XXIV. When the greater part took their farewell of him, he said to the rest, 'To what house of place will we go?' One Hugh Kennedy said, 'We will go to such an house.' He said, 'Hewie, you will not get your nose set there; for the devil and his bairns are there. Notwithstanding Hugh went, and found the house full of enemies: and that night, a woman in that house, made way of herself. Hugh came quickly back and told him. He said, 'We'll go to such an house; I have an errand there. When they went, the good woman was dying, under great doubts and fears: where he was a blessed instrument of comfort to her: and said to Hugh, 'Hewie, this is the errand I had here.

XXV. They went eastward, somewhat contrary to his inclination; and came to the top of an hill, upwards of two miles distant from the house, to which they designed: he halted and said, 'I will not go one foot further this way; there is undoubtedly danger before us.' An herd lad being there, he gave him a goat and desired him to go to that house, and fetch him meat and news: when the lad came to the house the good wife hasted, and gave him meat to them, saying, 'Lad, run hard, and tell them, that the enemies are spread, and we are every minute looking for them here.' As the lad was going from the house, eighteen of the enemy's foot were near, crying, *stand dog*. The lad ran, and six of them pursued half a mile, and fired hard upon him; the ball went close by his head. All that time. Mr. Peden continued in prayer for him alone, and with the rest, being twelve men; when praying with them, he said, "Lord, shall the poor lad

"that's gone our errand, seeking bread to support our "lives, lose his? direct the bullets by his head, how-"ever near; let them not touch him. Good Lord "spare the lap of thy cloak, and cover the poor lad." And in this he was heard and answered, in that there was a dark cloud of mist parted him and them.

XXVI. About this time there was an honest poor wife brought him and them some bread and milk; when seeking a blessing, he said, "As the guise of "the times goes now in this bloody land, this poor "woman has endangered her life, in bringing bread to "support ours: we cannot pay her for it; but Lord "it is for thy sake she has brought it; there is no "need that she should be a loser at thy hand; thou "gives plenty of bread to many, who are not so wor-"thy of it; giving does not impoverish thee and with-"holding does not enrich thee; give this poor wife "many bonnacks for these few." And the wife said several times afterwards, she got many bonnacks; for after that, she was never so straitened for bread, as before.

XXVII. About this time, upon a Sabbath-night, he preached in a shield or sheep-house, in a desart place; a man standing at the door as he came in, he gripped him, and said, "Where are you going, sir, and what brought you here? go home, sir, go home, ye've neither art nor part with us, there will be a black account heard of you ere long." Accordingly, very shortly thereafter, he went to Edinburgh, and took that black Test. That night he lectured upon the 7th chapter of Amos, "And I will set a plumb line in the midst of my people, the house of Israel: he cried out, "Oh, how few of the ministers of Scotland will answer this plumb-line! Lord send us a Welwood, a Cargil, and a Cameron, and such as they, and make us quit of the rest: And I will rise against the house of Jeroboam with the sword." He said, "I'll tell you good news, Our Lord will take a feather out of Antichrist's wing, which shall bring down the duke of York, and banish him out of these kingdoms, and will remove the bloody sword from above the heads of his people; and there shall never a man of the name of

Stewart sit upon the throne of Britain after the duke of York, whose reign is now short, for their treachery, treachery, tyranny, and shedding the precious blood of the Lord's people ; but oh, black, black, black will the day be, that will come upon Ireland, that they shall travel forty miles, and not see a reeking house, nor hear a cock crow." At this he started up to his feet, and clapt his hands, and with a ravishing voice cried aloud, "Glory, glory to the Lord, that has accepted a bloody "sacrifice of a sealed testimony of Scotland's hand; "we have a bloody clout to hold up, and the lads that "got the bullets through their heads, the last day at "Glentroll, their blood has made the clout the redder; "when our Lord looks upon the bloody clout, he will "keep the sword of his avenging justice in the sheath "for a time: but if Scotland shall not consider the "merciful day of their visitation, nor his long suffer-"ing patience and forbearance, lead them to repen-"tance, as we fear it will not, but harden them in "their sin; and the greater part turn gospel proof, "and judgment proof, and wax worse and worse; "then will the Lord accomplish all that he has threat-"ened, a well-deserved, foreseen and foretold day of "vengeance; when he begins, he will also make an "end, especially against the house of Eli, for the ini-"quity, which they cannot but know." When ended, he and those that were with him, lay down in the sheep-house, and got some sleep; he arose early and went up the burn-side; and stayed long; when he came in to them, he did sing the 32d Psalm from the 7th verse to the end; when ended he repeated the 7th verse.

Thou art my hiding place, thou shalt
from trouble keep me free;
Thou with songs of deliverance
about shall compass me.

Saying, "These and the following are sweet lines "which I got at the burn-side this morning, and will "get more to-morrow, and so we'll get daily provi-

"sion; he was never behind with any that put their "trust in him, and he will not be in our common, nor "none who needily depends on him; and so we will "go on in his strength, making mention of his righte-"ousness, and of his only." The foresaid James Cubison, went eight miles with him; when he took good night, he said, 'Sir, I think I'll never see you again,' he said, 'James, ye and I will never meet again in time;' and two several times when he went to Ireland before, when they parted, he told him they would not meet again. The said James, John Muirhead, and others of our sufferers who were present gave me these accounts.

XXVIII. Shortly after they landed from Ireland in Galloway, the enemy got notice, they being then in garrisons, foot, and horse, and it being killing time: the alarm came to them in a morning, that foot and horse were coming upon them: the aforesaid John Muirhead being struck with a violent pain in his head, they started up to run for it; he said, "Stay, stay, lads let us pray for old JOHN ere we go:" he stood up and said, "Lord we hear tell that thy enemies and ours are coming upon us, and thou hast laid thy hand of affliction upon old JOHN: have pity upon him, for thy enemies will have none, his blood will run there where he lies: spare him at this time, we know not if he be ready to die." And as JOHN told me with the tear in his eye, the pain of his head and the indisposition of his body quite left him, and he started up and ran with the rest. The enemies seeing them, pursued them hard, sometimes the horse, and sometimes the foot being near them; mossy, boggish ground did cast about the horses. After they had run some considerable way, they got some little height betwixt the enemy and them: he stood still, and said, 'Let us pray here; for if the Lord hear not our prayers and save us, we are dead men, and our blood will run like water: if we must die, let the enemy kill us, and let our blood fill up their cup, that the day of vengeance that's coming upon them, may be hastened.' Then he began and said, "Lord, it is thy enemies' day, hour and power: they may not be idle; but hast thou no other work for

them, but to send them after us? Send them after them to whom thou wilt give strength to flee, for our strength is gone. Twine them about the hill, Lord, and cast the lap of thy cloak o'er old Sandy and their poor things, and save us this one time, and we'll keep it in remembrance, and tell it to the commendation of thy goodness, pity and compassion, what thou didst for us at such a time." In the mean time, there was a dark cloud of mist came between them. After prayer, he ordered two of them to give notice of the enemy's motion, and the rest to go there alone, and cry mightily to the Lord for deliverance. In the mean time that they were thus exercised, there came posts to the enemy, for them to go and pursue Mr. Renwick, and a great company with him. After the enemy was gone, he called them together, and said, 'Let us not forget to return thanks to the Lord, for hearing and answering us in the day of our distress:' and charged the whole creation to praise the Lord; and adjured the clouds to praise him. Then he sat down at the side of a well, and enquired if they had any crumbs of bread; some of them said they had a few crumbs. When seeking a blessing, he said, "O Lord, thou who blessed the few loaves and fishes, and made them sufficient for so many, bless this water and these crumbs to us; for but very lately we thought we should never had needed any more of these creature-comforts."

XXIX. A few days after this, the foresaid John Muirhead was in a house alone, at a distance from the rest; and in the morning was a dark mist, and he knew not whither to go, or where to find them; only he heard him speak of the name of a place where he was to baptize some children. He gave sixpence to a lad to conduct him to that place, which was six miles distant; when he came, he was praying. After baptism, he came to John, and said, 'Poor straying sheep, how come you to stray from the rest? I had a troubled morning for you; do not this again, otherwise it will fare the worse with you.'

XXX. About this time, he and John Clark, who ordinarily was called Little John, were in a cave in

Galloway, and had wanted meat and drink for a long time. He said, 'John, better be thrust through with the sword, than pine away with hunger: the earth and the fulness thereof, belongs to my Master; and I have a right to as much of it as will keep me from fainting in his service. Go to such a house, and tell them plainly, that I have wanted meat so long, and they will give it willingly.' John said, 'I am not willing to leave you alone in this place; for some have been frightened by the devil in this cave.' No, no, John, says he, 'you need not fear that; I will take my venture of him for a time.' John went, and the people willingly gave him some meat; and when he came back, he said, 'It is very hard living in this world, John; incarnate devils above the earth, and devils beneath the earth; the devil has been here, since you was here, but I have sent him off in haste: we'll be troubled no more with him, this night.

XXXI. A little after this, he being yet in Galloway, John Muirhead, and some others being with him, John said to him, 'This is a very melancholy weary time' (it being killing time,) He replied and said, 'There are more dark weary days to come, when all your pulpits will be full of Presbyterian ministers, and it will turn so dark upon you, that many shall not know what to do, whether to hear, or to forbear; and they shall then be reckoned happy that got safe through Pentland, Bothwel and Airdsmoss, and got fairly off the stage, and got martyrdom for Christ: for the ministers will cut off many of the most serious and zealous godly, at the web's end. But I'll be hid in a grave.' They enquired, what would become of the testimony of the church of Scotland. Then he pulled the bonnet from his head, and threw it from him, saying, 'See you how my bonnet lies? The sworn-to and sealed testimony of the church of Scotland, will fall from among the hands of all parties, and will ly as close to the ground as ye see my bonnet ly.' How lamentably is this accomplished, to the observation of all who see with half an eye!

XXXII. At this time it was seldom that Mr. Peden could be prevailed with to preach frequently; an-

swering and advising people to pray meikle; saying, it was praying folk that would win through the storm; and telling them, they would get preaching both meikle and good, but not meikle good of it, till judgments were poured out, to lay the land desolate. And at other times, he told them, that they need not look for a great or good day of the gospel until the sword of the French were among them, to make a dreadful slaughter; and after that bra' good days. He and Mr. Donald Cargil saw, as it had been with one eye, and spake with one breath; and frequently, when they prest him to preach, he had the same expressions in his answers.

XXXIII. There being three lads murdered at Wigtown, when he was praying at Craigmyne, many miles distant, he cried out: 'There is a bloody sacrifice put up this day, at Wigtown; these are the lads of Kirkelly. And they who lived near, knew not of it, till it was past.'

XXXIV. After this, in Auchingrouch muirs in Nithsdale, capt. John Mattheson and others being with him, they were alarmed with a report that the enemies were coming fast upon them; so they designed to put him in some hole, and cover him with heather. But he not being able to run hard, by reason of age, he desired them to forbear a little until he prayed, where he said, "Lord we are ever needing at thy hand; and if we had not thy command to call upon thee in the day of our trouble, and thy promise of answering us in the day of our distress, we wot not what would become of us; if thou have any more work for us in thy world, allow us the lap of thy cloak the day again; and if this be the day of our going off the stage, let us walk honestly off, and comfortably thorow, and our souls will sing forth thy praises to eternity, for what thou hast done to us, and for us." When ended, he ran his alone a little, and came quickly back, saying, 'Lads, the bitterest of this blast is over; we will be no more troubled with them to day.' Foot and horse came the length of Andrew Clark's in Auchengroch, where they were covered with a dark mist; when they saw it, they roared like fleshly devils, as they were crying out,

There's the confounded mist again, we cannot get these damned whigs pursued for it. I had these accounts from the said captain John Mattheson.

XXXV. About this time, he was in a house in the shire of Air, where James Nisbet was staying, who, till last year, lived in the castle of Edinburgh, but is now honestly off the stage, and gone to his rest. At night he was standing before the fire, where he uttered some imprecations against the cursed intelligencers, who have told the enemy that I am come out of Ireland. When James took him to the place where he was to rest a little, James said, 'The servants took notice of your imprecations upon the intelligencers;' he said, 'Ye will know to-morrow before nine o' the clock, what ground I have for it; I wish thy head may be preserved, for it will be in dangers; for me, I'll take my own time, and be gone from this house.' Some time in that night he went to a desart place, and darned himself in a moss-bag. The next morning, James was going at the harrows; and about eight of the clock, there was a troop of the enemies surrounding the house; when James saw them, he ran for his life. They pursued him hard, till he got into a moss where they could pursue him no farther with horses. They fired upon him; and he having knots upon his hair on each side of his head, one of their bullets took off one of the knots. He ran to the place where Mr. Peden was, who said, 'Oh, Jamie, Jamie, I am glad your head's safe, for I knew it would be in danger.'—He took his knife, and cutted away the other knot.

XXXVI. About this time, James Wilson in Douglas, a singular known man to many, was with him in Airdsmoss, and being together sometime, without speaking, as Mr. Peden's custom was, when there was any thing extraordinary in his head, they came to Mr. Cameron's grave, where he and other eight were buried. After sitting some time at the grave, he gave James a clap upon the shoulder with his heavy hand, and said, 'I am going to tell you a strange tale, James:' James said, 'I am willing to hear it.' He said, 'This is a dreadful day, both of sinning and suffering;' as indeed it was, it being killing time, wherein many faint-

ed, and could not endure the scorching heat of that persecution: and to some, in his love, the Lord gave grounds of strength, support and comfort, that keeped them from fainting: 'But,' said he, 'though it be a dreadful day, it will not last long; this persecution will be stopt within a few years, but I will not see it.—And you are all longing and praying for that day; but when it comes, ye will not crack so much of it as you trow. And ye're a vain man, *James*, and many others, with your bits of papers and drops of blood (meaning our martyrs' testimonies and blood) and who but you, and your bits of papers and drops of blood? but when that day comes, there will be a bike of indulged, lukewarm ministers come out of Holland, England and Ireland, together with a bike of them at home, and some young things that know nothing, and they will all hive together in a General Assembly; and the red hands with blood, and the black hands with defection, will be taken by the hand, and the hand given them by our ministers: and ye will not ken who has been the persecutor, complier or sufferer; and your bits of papers and your drops of blood will be shut to the door, and never a word more of them, and ye and your testimony cut off at the web's end, and ye and the like of you will get the back-side.' He gave him another sore clap upon the shoulder, saying, 'Keep mind of this, James Wilson; for as the Lord lives, it will surely come to pass.' James Wilson told me this shortly thereafter, and renewed it again at the first General Assembly, when he and I, and many others, saw the accomplishment of this in every particular, to our great grief.

XXXVII. In the beginning of May 1685, he came to the house of John Brown and Isabel Weir, whom he married before he went last to Ireland, where he stayed all night: and in the morning when he took his farewell, he came out at the door, saying to himself, 'A fearful morning, poor woman; a dark misty morning?' The next morning, between five and six, the said John Brown, having performed the worship of God in his family, was going with a spade in his hand, to make ready some peat-ground. The mist being

very dark, he knew not, till bloody cruel Claverhouse encompassed him with three troops of horse, brought him back to his own house, and there examined him: who, though a man of stammering speech, yet answered him distinctly and solidly. This made Claverhouse examine those whom he had taken for his guides through the muirs, if ever they heard him preach: they answered, No, no, he was never a preacher. He said, 'If he has never preached, meikle has he prayed in his time.' He said to John, 'Go to your prayers, for you shall immediately die.' When he was praying, Claverhouse interrupted him three times. One time that he stopt him, he was pleading that the Lord would spare a remnant, and not make a full end in the day of his anger. Claverhouse said, 'I gave you time to pray, and ye're begun to preach;' he turned about upon his knees, and said, 'Sir, you know neither the nature of preaching nor praying, that calls this preaching;' then continued without confusion. When ended, Claverhouse said, 'Take good night of your wife and children;' his wife standing by him, with her child in her arms, that she had brought forth to him, and another child of his first wife's, he came to her and said, 'Now Isabel, the day is come, that I told you would come, when I first spake to you of marrying me; she said, 'Indeed John, I can willingly part with you;' then he said, 'That's all I desire, I have no more to do but die, I have been in case to meet with death for so many years. He kissed his wife and bairns, and wished purchased and promised blessings to be multiplied upon them, and his blessing. Claverhouse ordered six soldiers to shoot at him; the most part of the bullets came upon his head, which scattered his brains upon the ground. Claverhouse said to his wife, 'What thinkest thou of thy husband now, woman? she said, 'I thought ever much good of him, and as much now as ever.' He said, 'It were but justice to lay thee beside him:' she said, 'If ye were permitted, I doubt not but your cruelty would go that length; but how will ye answer for this morning's work?' He said, 'To man I can be answerable; and for God, I will take him in my own hand.' Clav-

erhouse mounted his horse, and marched, and left her with the corps of her dead husband lying there; she set the bairn upon the ground, and gathered his brains and tied up his head, and straighted his body, and covered him with her plaid, and sat down and wept over him; it being a very desart place, where never victual grew, and far from neighbors. It was sometime before any friends came to her; the first that came was a very fit hand, that old singular christian woman in Cummerhead, named Jean Brown, three miles distant, who had been tried with the violent death of her husband at Pentland, afterwards of two worthy sons, Thomas Weir, who was killed at Drumclog, and David Steil, who was suddenly shot afterwards, when taken. The said Isabel Weir, sitting upon her husband's grave-stone, told me, that before that, she could see no blood, but she was in danger to faint, and yet was helped to be a witness to all this, without either fainting or confusion, except when the shots were let off, her eyes dazzled. His corps were buried at the end of his house where he was slain, with this inscription on his grave-stone.

> "In earth's cold bed the dusty part here lies,
> Of one who did the earth as dust despise:
> Here in that place from earth he took departure.
> Now he has got the garland of the martyr."

This murder was committed between six and seven in the morning. Mr. Peden was, at that time, about ten or eleven miles distant, having been in the fields all night. He came to the house between seven and eight, and desired to call in the family, that he might pray amongst them. He said, "Lord, when wilt "thou avenge Brown's blood? O let his blood be pre-"cious in thy sight, and hasten the day when thou'lt "avenge it, with Cameron's, Cargil's, and many others "of our martyrs: and, O for that day, when the Lord "will avenge all their bloods!" When ended, John Muirhead asked what he meant by Brown's blood. He said twice over, 'What do I mean?' 'Claverhouse

has been at the Preshill, this morning, and has cruelly murdered John Brown; his corpse is now lying at the end of his house, and his poor wife sitting weeping by him, and not a soul to speak comfortably to her.' He also told them, that after sun-rising that morning, he saw a strange apparition in the firmament; the appearance of a very bright clear-shining star, fall from heaven to the earth: and he likewise told them, that indeed there was a clear-shining star fallen: John Brown being the greatest christian he ever conversed with.

XXXVIII. After this, two days before Argyle was broken and taken, he was near to Wigton in Galloway; a considerable number of men were gathered together in arms, to go for his assistance; when they pressed him to preach, but this he positively refused, saying he would only pray with them; where he continued long, and spent some part of that time in praying for Ireland, 'pleading that the Lord would spare a "remnant, and not make a full end in the day of his "anger; and would put it in the hearts of his own, to "flee over to this bloody land, where they would find "safety for a time.' After prayer they got some meat; and he gave every one of his old parishioners who were present, a piece out of his own hand, calling them his bairns; where he advised all to go no further. As for those whom he called his bairns, he discharged them to go a foot-length, as before they could go that length, he would be broke. And he told them, that though it were not so, God would honour neither him nor Monmouth to be instruments of any good turn for his church, they having dipt their hands so far in the persecution. And that same day that Argyle was taken, Mr. George Barclay was preaching, and persuading men in that country, to go to Argyle's assistance. After sermon, he said to Mr. George, 'Now Argyle is in the enemy's hands, and gone; though he was distant many miles, at the time.

XXXIX. After this, he was to preach at night, at Pendarroch in Carrick. The mistress of the house had been too open minded to a woman, who went and told the enemy, and came back to the house, that

she might not be suspected. Mr. Peden being in the fields, came in haste to the door, and called the mistress and said; 'You have played a bonny sport to yourself, by being so loose tongued. The enemy has been informed that I was to drop a word this night in this house; and the person who has done it, is in the house just now. You'll repent it, to-morrow morning: the enemy will be here, and you'll have an ill red-up house. Farewell: I'll stay no longer in this place.'

XL. In the same year, within the bounds of Carrick, John Clark in Muirbrook, being with him, asked his opinion of the present time, it being a dark and melancholy day, and a discouraging time, Mr. Peden agreed that it was a very dark and discouraging time, but he said there would be a darker time than that: and that these silly, graceless, wretched creatures, the curates, should go down; and after them should arise a party called Presbyterians, having little more than the name: and that these should, as really as Christ was crucified without the gates of Jerusalem on mount Calvary, bodily; he said, they should as really crucify Christ in his cause, and interest in Scotland, and should lay him in his grave; and his friends should give him his winding sheet, and he should lie as one buried for a considerable time: he then said there should be darkness and dark days such as the poor church of Scotland never saw the like of them, nor shall see, if once they were over; yea it shall be so dark, that if a poor thing would go between the East sea bank, and the West sea bank, seeking a minister, to whom they would communicate their case, or tell them the mind of the Lord, concerning the times he should not find one. John asked where the testimony should be then: he answered in the hands of a few who shall be despised and undervalued by all, but especially by these ministers who buried Christ; but after that, he shall get up upon them; and at the crack of his winding sheet, as many of them as are alive, who were at his burial, shall be distracted and mad, for fear, not knowing what to do: then he told him there should be brave days, such as the church

of Scotland, never saw the like; but that he should not see them, but he might. The said John Clark has been at Mr. Murray's since; that it is all one for matter and substance with what Mr. Peden said to him in this 40th page.

XLI. In the same year 1685, preaching in the night-time, in a barn at Carrick, upon the text, Psalm lxviii, 1, 2. 'Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered: let them also that hate him, flee before him. As smoke is driven, so drive thou them.' So insisting how the enemies and haters of God and godliness, were tossed and driven as smoke or chaff, by the wind of God's vengeance, while on earth, and that wind would blow and drive them all to hell in the end; stooping down, their being chaff among his feet, he took a handful of it, and said, 'The duke of York, the duke of York, and now king of Britain, a known enemy of God and godliness; it was by the vengeance of God that ever he got that name; but as ye see me scatter the chaff, so that vengeance shall drive him off that throne; and he nor no other of that name, shall ever come on it again.

XLII, About this time, preaching in Carrick, in the parish of Girvan, in the day-time, in the fields, David Mason, then a professor, came in haste, trampling upon the people, to be near him, on which he said, 'there comes the devil's rattle-bag; we do not want him here.' After this, the said David became officer in that bounds, and an informer, running through, rattling his bag, and summoning the people to their unhappy courts for their non-conformity; and for that, he and his, got the name of the devil's rattle-bags; and to this day do. Since the revolution, he complained to his minister, that he and his got that name; the minister said, 'Ye well deserved it, and he was an honest man that gave you it; you and yours must enjoy it, there's no help for it.'

XLIII. A little before his death he was at Auchincloich, in the parish of Sorn, where he was born, in the house of John Richman, there being two beds in the chamber, one for him and one Andrew Black who dwelt in or about the New-milns; when Andrew of-

fered to go to his bed, he heard him very importunate with the Lord, to have pity upon the west of Scotland, and spare a remnant, and not make a full end in the day of his anger; and when he was off his knees, walking up and down the chamber, crying out, 'Oh "the Monzies, the French Monzies, see how they run, "how long will they run? Lord cut their houghs, "and stay their running." Where he continued all night; sometimes on his knees and sometimes walking. In the morning, they enquired what he meant by the Monzies; he told them, That they would have a dreadful day by the French Monzies, and a set of wicked men in these lands, who would take part with them, the west of Scotland would pay dear for it; they'll run thicker in the water of Air and Clyde, than ever the Highland men did. I lay in that chamber seven years ago, and the said John Richman and his wife told me, that these were his words. At other times, to the same purpose, he told them, That the Monzies, the Monzies, would be through the breadth and length of the south and west of Scotland; that he thought he saw them at the fire-sides, slaying man, wife and children; the remnant would get a breathing; but they would be driven to the wilderness again and their sharpest showers would be last.

To the same purpose, spoke these two following ministers, to-wit. Mr. Thomas Lundie, a godly minister in the north at Rotry; his sister, a lady in that country, who died in the year 1683, gave this following account, That the said Mr. Lundie, after some sickness, had seeming recovery again, which comforted them, but one morning staying longer than ordinary in his chamber, the foresaid lady knocking at his chamber door, who opened it, found him more than ordinarily weighted; she asked him the reason, seeing, he was now better; whereupon smiling, he said, Within a few hours I'll be taken from you; but alas! for the day that I see coming upon Scotland: the Lord has letten me see the French marching their armies, through the breadth and length of the land, marching to their bridle-reins in the blood of all ranks, and that for a broken, burnt and buried covenant; but

neither ye nor I will live to see it.' As also one Mr. Douglas, a godly minister in Galloway, a little before his death, seeming as slumbering in his bed, his wife and other friends standing by, when he awaked, he seemed more than ordinarily weighted, and groaned heavily, and told them, Sad days for Scotland; His wife asked him, what would be the instruments? He answered, The sword of foreign enemies, they would be heavy and sharp, but not long; but they would not be yet, but not long to them: but O glorious days on the back of them, to poor wasted Scotland. As also, some notes of a preface by godly Mr. John Welsh, sometime minister of the gospel in the parish of Irongray, in Galloway, a little after the break at Bothwel-Bridge, who shortly thereafter ended his days in peace at London, after having been many years hunted for his life. He said, 'O but I have great news to tell "you this day; but you may say, can you tell us "greater news than of them that's in Edinburg, that "they are heading, and hanging, and shedding the "blood of the saints? but, said he, I have great news "to tell you from my great Master, and that is, I see "all Scotland a field of blood, and I see all England "and Ireland a field of blood; but before that time "the church will get a breathing, but she will fall "asleep, and will not improve it; but the first wakening "she will get, the man will step over his bed-side in "his wife and children's blood; then the church will "awaken, and it will be at such a nick of time, that "one of the nations will not be able to help the other. "O but any of you, who have moyen with our Lord, "had need to pray that that sad day may be prevent-"ed; but the decree is gone forth, and past in hea-"ven, 'tis past remedy.'

Some notes of Mr. Peden's last preface in the Collomwood, at the water of Air, a little before his death.

"My master is the rider, and I am the horse; I "never love to ride but when I find the spurs; I know

"not what I have to do amongst you this night; he "wished it might be for their good, for it would be "the last: it is long since it was our desire to God, "to have you taken off our hands; and now he's grant-"ing our desire. There are four or five things I "have to tell you this night; and the first is this, A "bloody sword, a bloody sword, a bloody sword for "thee O Scotland, that shall pierce the hearts of "many. 2dly, Many miles shall ye travel, and shall "see nothing but desolation, and ruinous wastes in "thee, O Scotland. 3dly, The fertilest places in Scot-"land, shall be as waste and desolate as the mountains. "4thly, The women with child shall be ript up and "dashed in pieces. 5thly, Many a conventicle has God "had in thee, O Scotland; but ere long, God shall "have a conventicle, that will make Scotland tremble: "many a preaching has God warred on thee; but ere "long, God's judgments shall be as frequent as these "precious field-meetings were, wherein he sent forth "his servants to give faithful warning of the hazard "of thy apostacy from God, in breaking, burning, and "burying his covenant, persecuting, slighting and "contemning the gospel, shedding the precious blood "of his saints and servants; God sent forth a Wel-"wood, a Kid, and a King, a Cameron and a Cargil, "and others, to preach to thee; but ere long, God "shall preach to thee by fire, and a bloody sword. "God will let none of these men's words fall to the "ground, that he sent forth with a commission to "preach these things in his name; he will not let one "sentence fall to the ground, but they shall have a "sure accomplishment, to the sad experience of "many.' In his prayer after sermon he said, 'Lord "thou hast been good and kind to old Sandy, thorow "a long track of time, and giving him many years in "thy service, which have been but as so many months: "but now he is tired of thy world, and hath done all "the good in it that he will do; let him win away with "the honesty he has, for he will gather no more.'

XLV. When the day of his death drew near, and not able to travel, he came to his brother's house in the parish of Sorn, where he was born; he caused dig

a cave, with a saughenbush covering the mouth of it, near to his brother's house; the enemies got notice and searched the house narrowly many times. In the time that he was in this cave, he said to some friends, that God should make Scotland a desolation. 2dly, There should be a remnant in the land, whom God should spare and hide. 3dly, They should lie in holes and caves of the earth, and be supplied with meat and drink; and when they came out of their holes, they should not have freedom to walk for stumbling on dead corps. 4thly, A stone cut out of the mountain, should come down, and God should be avenged on the great ones of the earth, and the inhabitants of the land, for their wickedness, and then the church should come forth with a bonny bairn-time at her back of young ones: he wished that the Lord's people might be hid in their caves, as if they were not in the world, for nothing would do it, until God appeared with his judgments, and they that wan through that bitter and short sharp storm, by the sword of the French, and a set of unhappy men taking part with them, then there would be a spring tide day of the plenty, purity, and power of the gospel; giving them that for a sign, if he were but once buried, they might be in doubts; but if he were oftener buried than once they might be persuaded, that all he had said would come to pass; and earnestly desired them to take his corps out to Airdsmoss, and bury him beside Ritchie, meaning Mr. Cameron, that he might get rest in his grave, for he had gotten little through his life; but he knew they would not do this. He told them that bury him where they would, he would be lifted again; but the man that put first to his hand to lift his corps four things should befall him. 1. He should get a great fall from a house. 2. He should fall in adultery. 3. In theft, and for these he should leave the land. 4. Make a melancholy end abroad for murder; which accordingly came to pass. This was one Murdoch, a mason to his trade, but then in the military service, who first put to his hand to his corps. A little before his death, he said, 'Ye will all be angry where I will be buried at last: but I discharge you all to lift my

corps again.' At last one morning early, he came to the door, and left his cave; his brother's wife said 'Where are you going? the enemies will be here;' he said, 'I know that.' 'Alas, sir, what will become 'of you, you must back to the cave again:' he said, 'I have done with that, for it is discovered; but there 'is no matter, for within forty-eight hours I will be 'beyond the reach of all the devil's temptations, and 'his instruments in hell and on earth, and they shall 'trouble me no more.' About three hours after he entered the house, the enemies came, and found him not in the cave, searched the barn narrowly, casting the unthreshen corn, and searched the house, stobbing the beds, but entered not the place where he lay. He told them, that bury him where they would, he would be lifted again, and within forty-eight hours he died; he died on January 28th, 1686, being past sixty years, and was buried in the laird of Afflect's isle. The enemies got notice of his death, and burial, sent a troop of dragoons, and lifted his corps, and carried them two miles to Cumnock gallows foot, and buried him there, after forty days being in the grave besides other martyrs. His friends thereafter laid a grave stone above him, with this inscription.

Here lies
MR. ALEXANDER PEDEN,
A faithful minister of the gospel sometime at
Glenluce.
Who departed this life, January 28, 1686,
and was raised after six weeks out
of his grave, and buried here
out of contempt.

After this, that troop of dragoons came to quarter in the parish of Cambusnethen, two of them were quartered in the house of James Gray, my acquaintance, being frightened in their sleep, started up, and clapped their hands, crying, *Peden, Peden* These dragoons affirmed, that out of their curiosity, they opened his coffin to see his corps, and yet they had no smell, though he had been forty days dead.

All the tyranny and cruelty of these times, by these

enemies of God and godliness, that were exercised upon the bodies and consciences of the Lord's people was said, that it was all for the rebellion; there was no ground to think or fear, that the corps of that servant of Christ, after six weeks lying in the grave, would rise in rebellion against them; this is somewhat like that which historians give an account of That the popish party made search for the bones of John Wickliff, their great opposer in his life, by his writings; forty two years after his death, and found bones, but were uncertain whether they were his or not, and took them up to the head of an hill, and burnt them, and gathered up the ashes in a pock, and threw them into a river. Mr. Samuel Clark gives another instance of a christian Jew in Italy, who, after the popish party had murdered him, laid his corps in the open street of the city, prohibiting all to bury him, where they lay nine days, and instead of stink they had a sweet charming smell, which induced many to stand and wonder: for which, when the enemies found the sweet smell themselves, they caused take them up and bury them.

All these foregoing instances I am surely informed of, for matter and substance, except the fortieth passage, which is said, he spoke to John Clark in Muirbrock, within the bounds of Carrick, in the year 1685, and has been passing from hand to hand almost ever since in write; I sent a friend twenty miles to him for the certainty of it; and although he was my old acquaintance, he delayed to give it; but promised to visit Mr. Murray in Penpont, in September 1723, and gave him a full account, but has not performed his promise. Captain John Campbell of Walwood, his master, promised to get a true account from himself, and send it to me, but has not done it; I am informed that some other friends enquired at the said John, who owned, that the fortieth passage was all one for matter and substance of what Mr. Peden said to him.

There are other two passages, that for many years I've often heard from friends, and I doubt nothing of the truth of them in my own mind, though I be not pointed in time and place.

First, One day preaching in the fields, in his prayer he prayed earnestly for the preservation of the people; and again and again prayed for that man that was to lose his life: the enemies came upon them the same day, and fired upon the people, and there was none of them either wounded or killed, save one man, and he was shot dead.

A second passage, One time he was preaching and giving a very large offer of Christ in the gospel terms; an old woman sitting before him, he laid his hands upon every side of her head, and rocked her from side to side, and said, 'Thou witch-wife, thou witch-wife, thou witch-wife; I offer Christ to thee, quit the devil's service, thou hast a bad master, thou wilt never make thy plack a babee of him; and if thou will break off and renounce the devil's service, I promise thee in my Master's name, that he will give thee salvation. After, this there was a discernible change in her practice; and when she was dying, she confessed, that she was either engaged in the devil's service, or was engaging; and expressed her great thankfulness, that she had the happiness to hear Mr. Peden at that time.

N. B. As for that paper, that has been passing from hand to hand in print, these several years, in Mr. Peden's name, which is said to be found in Ireland, and supposed to be his, I made all search, both in Scotland and Ireland; but could never find one that had been conversant with him, that ever heard him have many of the expressions that are in that paper.

A short relation of the defection, and way of wounding of the interest, that Alexander Gordon *and* John Dick, *and many others in the year* 1685, *fell into, which Mr. Peden did foresee and foretell before, as is to be found in the thirty-second passage, into which he fell himself, for which he expressed great sorrow to James Wilson, and to Mr. Renwick, in that discourse that passed betwixt them, when dying.*

FIRST, This Alexander Gordon, before this, was joint in principle and suffering with Mr. Renwick, and that people; but after this, was turned off, with Robert Cathcart, John and Quintin Dicks, George Welsh, and many others, in the societies of Carrick, some in Galloway and Calder-Muer, chiefly by the means and influence of Mr George Barclay, and Mr. Robert Langlands: the most part of all the ministers having deserted the publick standard of the gospel, after Bothwel-Bridge, and left people to be destroyed, both soul and body, by the foxes, wolves, snares and sins of that day; especially the foresaid two, and others who went to Holland, laid themselves out at home and abroad, by misrepresentations and informations against honest people, and the grounds of their sufferings, which had a direct tendency to quench love, and mar the sympathy of all foreigners and strangers, with that suffering society people; hence, in April 1685, Mr. George Barclay, and others, came to the west of Scotland, in order to engage, preach up, and prepare a people to join Argyle, who came to Scotland, about the middle of May thereafter, with some men, and many notable arms; which, when Mr. Renwick, and the general correspondents of the united societies saw, his manifesto made them to demur, and hesitate to concur in that expedition, upon these grounds and reasons: First, Because it was not concerted according to the ancient plea of the Scottish covenanters, in defence of our reformation, expressly according to our

covenants, national and solemn league. Secondly,—Because no mention was made of the covenants, nor of Presbyterian government, of purpose, lest the Sectarian party should be irritated. Thirdly, Because it opened a door for confederacy with Sectarians and Malignants. Fourthly, Because of promiscuous admitting into trust, persons who were enemies to the cause and acceded to the persecution, to wit, Argyle's self, who many times, if not always, was a member of the bloody council, from May 1663, until 1681, and whose vote took away the life of Mr. Donald Cargil; and next to him, sir John Cochran of Ochiltree, who was so guilty of that great gush of the precious blood of Mr. Cameron, and those with him at Airdsmoss. These grounds and reasons, are to be found in Mr. Renwick's informatory vindication, and in his life and death: these reasons, Mr. Wodrow calls heata, heights and extremes; this incensed these that set up, and took part with Argyle, and made them to express themselves more bitterly against that contending handful: thus, after Mr. Barclay, and others with him, had kindled a fire of division amongst that people, who had been united for five years before: and after that expedition was over, Mr. Barclay said, He had some business at Edinburgh, but would shortly return and take part with them: but when he came to the witty town-warm air of Edinburgh, the heat of summer 1685 being over, the tables better covered, the chambers warmer, and the bed softer than the cold hills and glens of Carrick and Galloway, or the watery mosses and bogs of cold Calder-Muir; he forgot to fulfil his promise, and suffered them to shift for themselves: Mr. Langlands, and Mr. Adam Alcorn, took one turn more in these places, and added more fuel to these fires and divisions, and then left them altogether, and sided with the indulged and luke-warm, and thereafter with York's toleration. Then the simple and misled of these societies, saw themselves led and left upon the ice; many of them returned with blushing to Mr. Renwick, and their former societies; but never the cordialness, love, light, life, nor zeal, as before; the foresaid topping, leading-men, in these divisions, wax-

ed worse and worse in ridiculing, making sport and ryhme, with laughter upon Mr Renwick, and their former brethren: some who had been witness to it, unhappily told Mr. Renwick. I saw him much troubled and grieved; after a little musing, with much calmness, he said, 'Well, well, I am sorry for them;' but, said to James Wilson and myself, 'Mark ye these men, and remember that I said it, that as they are now fallen from strictness of principles, they will not long retain strictness of practice; and their laxness and looseness shall be such, that shall make them contemptible in their life, and their names unsavoury when dead.' In the beginning of this month of May, Mr. Peden was at family-worship in the shire of Air; in his discourse he was asserting some truths, the foresaid John Dick being present, he said, 'This is as true, as thou John Dick shall make defection, and wound the testimony ere Lambas:' James Nesbit was witness to this. The truth of these things I can assert, not only that their thriving days in religion and zeal were now gone, but some of them I saw scandalously drunk, [and credibly informed of gross things in their practices.] The foresaid Mr. Gordon being in drink, went out to a combat, and lost much blood; and going up stairs, he lost his feet, and brained himself, where he died in Edinburgh. It was an observation of several solid tender christians, 'That Mr Gordon, and these with him, had always more of a fighting and contending spirit, by swords, guns and tongues, than ever they had of a spirit of prayers and tears, the chief weapons of the saints.' I was, before this, fourteen months in prison, without distinct informations, but especially three months closed up in Dunottar castle, in the very heat of those divisons, when I happily escaped out of the hands of those butchering enemies; I came to Calder-Muir, the members of these societies being all my intimate acquaintances, leaving them all of one mind, but found them so divided and confused, that I knew not what to believe, nor whom to believe, except a few of the most tender, who remained unmoved or shaken. In this perplexity, I went and heard Mr. Langland, for my own information and satisfaction, preaching in

a house to a very few; where I got more offence, both in his conduct and discourse, but especially in converse, speaking bitterly against some conclusions of the general correspondence of the united societies, for management and order among themselves, which every society might do, calling them notable devices of the devil, venting their zeal more against Mr. Renwick, that cause and people, than any other party, or wicked thing in the land; these things made me haste to Mr. Renwick, having heard, and been with him before I was taken. I found him, and these that stood with him, as I left them in a sweet, calm, refreshing gospel-air, with an uniform zeal, which was both confirming and comforting to me. After Mr. Renwick's death, I had the occasion of riding twenty miles with Mr. Langlands, where I used all freedom with him, of all things that were most offensive to me in that time, especially that letter he wrote to Gavin Witherspoon, against Mr. Renwick, that cause and people: he said, he was never so much ashamed of any thing in his life; for, said he, 'I dipt my pen in gall against him, but he dipt his in honey to me. Whoso desires to be further informed in the divisions and confusions of that juncture of time, let them peruse the life and death of Mr. Renwick, a little after his publick martyrdom, written by Mr. Alexander Shields, which are now published to the world.

The kindling of a fire of division and confusion amongst the united societies, is not so much to be wondered at, as the influence of the false misrepresentations and informations, and unhappy advices of Mr. George Barclay, and Mr. Robert Langlands, upon that singular man Mr. Peden, to make him express himself so bittterly against Mr. Renwick, that he would set himself in opposition to him, and make his name stink above the ground: and fell into the same defections, and wounded the same interest; at the same time that he did threaten, foresee, and foretell, that others would fall into, particularly Alexander Gordon, as may be seen in the 23d passage; and John Dick and his, with aggravations beyond theirs, that he helped them to stifle their convictions, and harden them and

others in their defections, and make them vaunt, and be more confident in breaking of the heart of Mr. Renwick more and more, with reproaches, and talking to the grief of those who were sore wounded with the tyranny and defections of the day, even after so many years, and so many evidences and expressions of love, sympathy and being well pleased with him, and that people, cause, and way of contending for the same.— One instance see in the 23d passage of his life, and after converse with him a little after he came out of Ireland, at Carrentable; where, when Mr. Renwick pressed him to join and assist, in keeping up the publick standard of the gospel, he answered, 'Be ye busy about the work God has put you to; and look not to me, nor to any other minister, for neither of us will ever see the deliverance.' How astonishing may this be to all? for which he payed dear afterward: that as he said to James Wilson, that from the time that he drank in these false reports, and followed these unhappy advices, it had not been with him as formerly; and when he was a dying, sent for Mr. Renwick, who hasted to him, who found him lying in very low circumstances, overgrown with hair, and few to take care of him, as he never took much care of his body, seldom did he unclothe himself these several years, or went to bed.— When Mr. James came in, he raised himself upon his bed, leaning upon his elbow, with his head upon his hand, and said, 'Sir, are ye the Mr. James Renwick, that there is so much noise about:' he answered 'Father, my name is James Renwick; but I have given the world no ground to make any noise about me: for I have espoused no new principle or practice, but what our reformers and covenanters maintained.' 'Well si ,' said Mr. Peden, 'turn about your back;' which he did in his condescending temper. Mr. Peden said, 'I think your legs too small, and your shoulders too narrow to take on the whole church of Scotland upon your back: Sit down, sir, and give me an account of your conversion, and of your call to the ministry, of your principles and the grounds of your taking such singular courses, in withdrawing from all other ministers;' which Mr. Renwick did in a distinct manner: of the

Lord's way of dealing with him from his infancy and of three mornings successive, in some retired place in the king's park, where he used to frequent before he went abroad; where he got very signal manifestations and confirmations of his call to the ministry, and got the same renewed in Holland, a little before he came off; with a distinct short account of the grounds upon which he contended against tyranny and defections, and kept up an active testimony against all the evils of that day. When ended, Mr. Peden said, 'Ye have answered me to my soul's satisfaction, and I am very sorry that I should have believed any such ill reports of you which have not only quenched my love to you and marred my sympathy with you; but made me express myself so bitterly against you for which I have sadly smarted; but, sir, ere you go you must pray for me, for I am old and going to leave the world; which he did with more than ordinary enlargement; when ended, he took him by the hand, and drew him to him, and kissed him, and said, 'Sir, I find you a faithful servant of your Master; go on in a single dependence upon the Lord, and ye will win honestly through, and cleanly off the stage, when many others, that hold their head high, will fall and ly in the mire, and make foul hands and garments;' then prayed, 'That the Lord might spirit, strengthen, support and comfort him in all duties and difficulties.'

These and many such instances may be a warning to all tender, zealous souls, to beware in calling in question or debating of known, clear, and confirmed duties and sins, which oft have drawn on more darkness, and led and made way for snares and sins; and to follow no man, even a Paul, further than they follow Christ; and many great and good men have been in greater hazard, and got more hurt by pretended friends, yea real friends and good men, than from the common enemies: that faithful and valiant man of God, that was sent to Jeroboams's Bethel, was turned out of the way, by an old ly-by, lying prophet, who had the impudence to pretend the word of the Lord for it, and the manner of that worthy man's death, set up as a beacon to all the Lord's people in all ages; a

Barnabas, carried away with the dissimulation of a fainting relapsing Peter; the unhappy misrepresentations and advices of these two deserving good men and ministers, Mr. George Barclay and Mr. Robert Langlands, who had their hands at many good turns in their time, had more influence upon that singular good man Mr. Peden to put his feet out of the theats, than all the six and twenty years tyranny of persecution he endured: it tended much to the perpetual commendation of the never to be forgotten Mr. Renwick, who was never daunted with frowns, nor inchanted with flatteries; let all the Lord's people make that use of it also, however long they have been upon the stage; and whatever steady course they have steered, and whatever have been their attainments and experiences, not to be high-minded, but still to fear. That man of God, blest Cargil, a little before his publick murder, and violent bloody death, preaching upon that text, 'Be not high-minded but fear;' said, among many other of his sententious sayings, That a christian might go through nineteen trials, and carry honestly in them, and fall in the twentieth. While in the body, be not high-minded but fear.

The exact copy of a letter from Mr. Alexander Peden, to the prisoners in Dunottar-Castle, in the month of July 1685, *being in number above eight-score men, and forty-six women, all driven into one vault.*

Dear Friends,

"I long to hear how you spend your time, and how the grace of God grows in your hearts: I know, ye and others of the Lord's people, by reason of the present trial, have got up a fashion of complaining upon Christ; but I defy you to speak an ill word of him, unless you wrong him; speak as you can, and spare not; only I request you, let your expressions of Christ be suitable to your experience of him: if ye think Christ's house be bare, and ill provided, harder than ye looked for, assure yourselves, Christ minds only to diet you, and not to hunger you; our steward kens, when to spend, and when to spare:

Christ knows well whether heaping or straiking agrees with our narrow-mouthed vessels, for both are alike to him: sparing will not enrich him, and spending will not impoverish him: he thinks it is ill win that's holden off his people; grace and glory comes out of Christ's lucky hand. Our vessels are but feckless, and contain little; his fulness is most straitened when it wants a vent: it is easy for Christ to be holden busy in dividing the fulness of his father's house, to his poor friends; he delights not to keep mercy o'er night, every new day brings new mercies to the people of God; he's the easiest merchant ever the people of God yoked with; if ye be pleased with the wares, what of his graces makes best for you, he and ye will soon sort on the price; he'll sell good cheap, that ye may speir for his shop again, and he draws all the sale to himself. I counsel you to go no further than Christ; and now, when it is come to your door, either to sin or suffer, I counsel you to lay your account with suffering, for an outgate coming out of any other airth will be prejudicial to your souls' interest: and for your encouragement, remember, he sends none a warfare on their own charges; and blest is the man that gives Christ all his money; it will be best for you to block with him, when you want hand money; and the less ye have, he has the more heart to frist you, and so it is best for you to keep with your old act quaintance: new acquaintance with strange lords, is the ready way to make a wound in grace's side, which will not heal in haste; the sore may close before the wound dry up; for grace is a tender piece, and is very easily distempered with the back slidings of the present time; and if the wheels of it be once broken with sin, all the moyen in the world will not make it go about, until it be put in Christ's hand. I hope I have said more on this matter than is needful, for I have seen the marks of tenderness deeply drawn on your carriage: the temper of these backsliding times invites us to double our diligence in seeking of God, for it seems God has a mind to search Jerusalem with lighted candles, and to visit all your chambers; and

there shall not be a pin in all your graces, but God shall know whether it be crooked or even; he will never halt until he be at the bottom of men's hearts: he has turned out some folks' hearts already, and has slit more; it seems he has a mind to make the in-side the out-side: there was but a small wind in our former trials, and therefore much chaff lay scattered and hid among the corn: God has now raised a strong mighty wind, and it is certain that Christ's corn cannot be driven away: he will not want a hair of his people's head, he knows them all by head mark; if our hearts could blaze after him, we would rather choose to die believing and suffering, than sin by compliance. I defy the world to steal a lamb out of Christ's flock unmist; what is a wanting at the last day of judgment, Christ must make them all up: the storm will not ly long, when the people of God have the worst of it, when the wind is both in their back and face; a great fire in God's furnace, will soon divide the gold from the dross: God's mill has been grinding fast, and it will not stand for want of water; if the people of God would hold out of the gate, and give enemies a rid field, that God may be full of their flesh, and it is like, he may give his enemies a knock o'er his people's head. God is giving the saints a little trial, somewhat sharper than ordinary, that they may come out of the furnace as a refined lump, that they run and be ready at the touch of the drum: it is honourable to be a footman in Christ's company, and run at Christ's foot from morning to evening; the weakest in all Christ's company will not tire to go and ride time about, for Christ will take his friends on behind him: when they begin to weary, and do not hold foot, Christ will wait on them. O how sweet will it be, to see Christ marching up in a full body, with all the trumpets sounding the triumph of the Lamb's victory, when his sword shall be made red with the blood of his enemies, when all the Heathens shall be rounding among themselves, that he has done so many things for his followers! Verily I fear, the followers of the Lamb will be forced to tread on the dead corps of wicked men, ere all the play be played; the whole land shall have enough ado to shovel them into the

earth; Christ will kill faster with his own hand, than the kingdom will be able to bury: and many shall be buried unstraighted, and moals shall be the winding sheet of many that look life-like in that day. The blood of God's foes shall preach strange things to his people, and we should rejoice with trembling: they that will not serve God, to themselves be it said: the day is near, when blood shall be the sign of Christ's soldiers, and *No quarters* shall be their word; death and destruction shall be written in broad letters on our Lord's standard: a look of him will be a dead stroke to any that comes in his way. It is best for you to keep under the shadow of God's wings, and to cast the lap of Christ's cloak over your head, until ye hear him say, that the brunt of the battle is over, and the shower is slacked; I am confident, the safest way to shoot the shower, is, to hold out of God's gate, and to keep within his doors, until the violence of the storm begin to ebb, which is not yet full tide Christ deals tenderly with his young plants, and waters them oft, lest they go back; be painful, and lose not life for the seeking. Grace, mercy, and peace be with you.

I recommend these views, thoughts and notes upon the covenant of redemption, as the extract of God's love, that in crosses and out of crosses we may rejoice.

"BE it known to all men, That in presence of the Ancient of days, it was finally contracted, and unanimously agreed, between these honourable and royal persons in the God-head, *to wit*, The great and infinite LORD of heaven and earth, on one side; and JESUS CHRIST God-man, his eternal and undoubted heir, on the other side, in manner, form and effect, as follows: That forasmuch as the LORD JESUS CHRIST is content, and obliges himself to become surety, and to fulfil the whole law; and that he shall suffer, and become an offering for sin, and take the guiding of all the children of GOD on him, and make them perfect in every good word and work; and that of his fulness, they shall all receive grace for grace; and also present them, man, wife and bairns, on hea-

ven's floor, and lose none of them; and that he shall raise them up at the last day, and come in on heaven's floor, with all the bairns at his back: therefore, the noble LORD of heaven and earth, on the other hand, binds and obliges himself to CHRIST, to send all the elect into the world, and to deliver them all fairly to JESUS CHRIST; and also to give him a body, flesh of their flesh, and bone of their bone: and to carry CHRIST through in all his undertaking in that work and to hold him by the hand: and also, let the Holy GHOST, who is equal, go forth into the world, that he may be sharer in this great work, and also, of the glory of this noble contrivance: and let him enlighten the minds of all those whom WE have chosen out of the world, in the knowledge of our name; and to convince them of our lost state; and persuade and enable them to embrace and accept of his free-love offer; and to support and comfort them, in all their trials and tribulations, especially these for our name's sake; and to sanctify them, soul and body, and make them fit for serving us, and dwelling with us, and singing forth the praises of the riches of Our free grace, in this noble contrivance, for ever and ever: likewise the same noble LORD of heaven and earth, doth fully covenant grace and glory, and all good things, to as many as shall be persuaded and enabled to accept and embrace you, as their LORD, KING and GOD: and moreover He allows the said JESUS CHRIST, to make proclamations by his servants, to the world in his name, that all that will come and engage unher his colors, he shall give them noble pay in hand for the present, and a rich inheritance for ever; with certification, that all those who will not accept of this offer, for the same cause, shall be guilty, and eternally condemned from our presence, and tormented with these devils, whom We cast out from US, for their pride and rebellion, for the glory of our justice, through eternity."

In testimony whereof, He subscribes his presents, and is content the same be registrate in the books of Holy Scripture, to be kept on record to future generations. Dated at the throne of heaven, in the ancient records of eternity.

HAVING three years ago, published the then gathered passages of Mr. Peden's life and death, with an earnest request to all that what further passages I had not then been informed and confirmed of the certainty thereof, that they would send me distinct accounts of the same, and I promised they should be faithfully published: accordingly since, persons of integrity have written to me, the following accounts from England, Ireland and several places in Scotland; and some by the word of mouth, asserting, as matter of fact, the former passages; and some ministers and others, have inquired at my informers, who are alive, whose names I mention, the truth of these passages, all of whom own them to be matter of fact; and John Clark, whom I mentioned in the 40th passage of what Mr. Peden spoke to him in the year 1685, within the bounds of Carrick, sometime since hath visited the reverend Mr. Murray, minister in Penpont, according to his promise, and asserts all, or to the same purpose as I have related them.

THIRTY NEW ADDITIONAL PASSAGES.

I. IN in the year 1666, when the Lord's persecuted and oppressed people were gathering together for their own defence, who were broke at Pentland-hills, he, with Mr Welsh, and the laird of Glor-over in the parish of Ballentrea, were riding together in the same parish, met upon the way a party of the enemy's horse, and no eviting of them; the laird fainted, fearing they would all be taken: Mr. Peden seeing this, said, 'Keep up your courage and confidence, for God hath laid an arrest upon these men, that they shall not harm us.' When they met, they were courteous, and asked the way, Mr. Peden went off the way, and shewed the ford of the water of Titt; when he returned, the laird said, 'Why did you go with them? you might have sent the lad with them;' he said, 'No, no, it was more safe for me, for they might have asked questions at the lad, and he might have fainted and dis-

covered us; for myself I know they would be like Egyptian dogs, they would not move a tongue against me, for my hour of falling into their hands, and day of trial is not yet come that is abiding me.' There is an old christian gentlewoman, yet alive in Edinburgh, a daughter of the said laird's, who told me of late, that she had several times heard her father, give an account of this. She also told me, that since Bothwel-Bridge, she heard him preach in the fields in the foresaid parish; a wife sitting before the tent, looking up to him he said, 'How have you the confidence to look up? Look down to hell, whither you are going; the devil has a fast grip of you, and will not lose it.'—That woman lived and died under the mala fama of a witch, and many strong presumptions of the same

II. Aboutthe year 1670, he was in Armagh in Ireland. One John Goodale with his wife, two serious, zealous christians, living in Armagh, who had gone from Scotland, who was a wheel-wright to his employment: his zeal was such against the superstitious worship, and keeping so many holy days; when going and coming by his shop-door, he wrought most hard; for this he was excommunicated: he told Mr. Peden, who said, 'Rejoice in that, John, that you are cast out of the devil's count-book.' After this, he was preaching privately in John's house; in his preface, he said, 'Our Lord has been taking great pains on you in Ireland, to get you to learn your lesson perquire; and few of you have been brought to say your lesson off the book, he has gotten a goodly company in Scotland, that he is learning to say their lesson off the book, and they are brave scholars; but ere long he'll try some of you with it also; he'll say, Come out thou man in Armagh, and thou man in Benburb, and say your lesson off the book:' the Bishop of Armagh (where singular Mr. Usher was called bishop of) or his underling, was so enraged against the said John, that he rode 60 miles to Dublin, to get an order or caption from the lord lieutenant there, for apprehending the said John, and George Fleming in Benburb, which he easily obtained, and came quickly back, and was in such haste to deliver his order, that upon horse back, and

he called for the chief magistrate: when delivering his commission his horse cast up his head, and gave him such a stroke upon the breast that he died the 4th or 5th day thereafter. George Fleming went out of the way, who was father to Mrs. Fleming, that christian motherly woman, who kept a school in the Castle-hill, and died there, of late. The foresaid John was immediately put in prison; his wife and others came to visit him, his wife said, 'Now my dear learn to say your lesson off the book:' he said, 'I'm much obliged to your kindness that minds me of that note.' The jailor at night said, 'John, you are called an honest man: if you will promise to return to morrow, I will let you go home to your bed,' John said 'That will I not do:' the keeper said, 'Will you run for, it?' he said, 'No no, I have done no ill thing that needs make me either afraid or ashamed:' 'Well,' said the keeper, 'Go home to your bed, and I'll send a servant for you the morrow's morning.' When he went home, it was his ordinary, in his family worship, to sing these lines in the 109th Psalm;

Few be his days, and in his room,
His charge another take, &c.

When ended, he said to his wife, 'I never found such a gale upon my spirit as in the singing of these lines;' she said, it was so with her also; 'Well' said he, 'let us commit our case and cause to the Lord, and wait on him, and we shall know the meaning of this afterwards.' That unhappy man fell immediately ill, and said that all this mischief had come upon him for what he done against John Goodale; and caused write and signed a discharge, and sent it to the said John, that he might not be troubled for the expense he had been at in the getting of the caption. He died under great horror of conscience; notwithstanding he was detained three years prisoner, working at his employment in the tolbooth all day; and went to his bed at night. The said John and his returned to Scotland, and died since the revolution; his wife, when a dying at Leith, gave this relation.

III. When Mr. Peden was prisoner in Edinburgh, under sentence of banishment, James Miller, merchant in Kirkaldy, was under the same sentence: his wife came to visit him; Mr. Peden said to her, ''Tis no wonder you be troubled with your husband's going to the plantations; but if any of us go there at this time, the Lord never spake by me.'

IV. In their voyage to London, they had the opportunity to command the ship and make their escape, but would not adventure upon it without his advice; he said, 'Let alone, for the Lord would set them all at liberty, in a way more for his own glory, and their safety.'

V. About this time, in their voyage, on the Sabbath, the prisoners pressed him to preach, the winds blowing very hard, in that sermon, he said, 'Up your hearts, lads, and be not discouraged; for this man thought he got a great prize, when he got the gift of us from the wicked bloody council; but in a few days, he shall be as glad to be quit of us, as ever he was to get us.' A little time ago, I had a long scroll of many accounts about Mr. Peden, from an old Christian English gentleman, who was much in his company, and gives me many notes of his sermons, and asserts the truth of many things I have said about him, that he was witness to, and had from persons of great integrity; he assures me, the only instrument the Lord raised up for the relief of Mr Peden, and these sixty prisoners with him, was my Lord Shaftesbury, who was always friendly to Presbyterians; who went to Charles the 2d, and, upon his knees, begged the relief of these prisoners, but could not prevail; then he went to the master of the ship, and said, 'That if he did not set these prisoners at liberty, he should never sail in the English seas; at length he came down to Gravesend, and set them at liberty: after that, the Scotch and English shewed more than ordinary kindness to them; which should be kept in remembrance in favouring of our outcasts.

VI. After they were set at liberty, he stayed at London and through England, until June 1679; upon the 21st of June he was come to the South of Scotland, being Saturday, the day before the Lord's people

fell and fled before the enemy at Bothwel-Bridge; in his exercise in the family, he cried out, 'I tell you sirs, our deliverence will never come by the sword: many thought, when the bishops were first set up, that they would not continue seven years; but I was never of that mind: but it is now near three sevens; they will not see the fourth seven, but I fear they will come near to it; which sadly came to pass.

VII. He went that night to the fields, and came in on the Sabbath morning about the sun rising, weeping and wringing his hands. One John Simpson, a godly man, enquired what the matter was that made him weep: he said, 'I have been wrestling all night with God, for our friends that are in arms in the West, but cannot prevail.' I gave an account, in the former passages, about the middle of that day, of many people waiting for sermon; when some told him, he said, 'Let the people go to their prayers, for he could preach none; our friends are fled and fallen before the enemy, and they are haggered and hashing them down, and their blood is running like water. At night he was called to supper, having tasted nothing that day, several friends being present; in seeking a blessing, he broke out in a rapture of weeping and lamentation for that sad stroke upon the bodies of the Lord's people; but much more for the dead stroke the greater part had got upon their spirits, that few of the ministers and professors of Scotland should ever recover: which sadly held true, as I formerly mentioned in my scraps of writings, of that blast of East-withering wind. He also insisted in prayer for the wounded who were wallowing to death in their blood, and for the many prisoners: when ended, he went off, and all others, without tasting of their supper, though it was on the table. At this time, he was forty or fifty miles distant from Bothwel-Bridge.

VIII. About this time he was preaching in the South, upon that text, 'But they are not grieved for the afflictions of Joseph;' he had some edifying remarks upon the foregoing verses, especially upon the first line, 'Wo to them that are at ease in Zion.' He insisted upon the true nature of grieving, and lament-

ed that there was so little grieving for the present great afflictions of the church of Scotland. One wife standing amongst the people, pointing to her said, 'Some of you will grieve and greet more for the drowning of a bit of calf or stirk, than ever ye did for all the tyranny and defections of Scotland. That woman had a calf drowned a few days before, for which she made great noise; she challenged his landlady for telling the minister that she grat for her calf; she replied, 'I could not tell him that which I knew not, and as little did he.' At the same time, he saw some of the people turning weary; he said, 'Ye are not taking notice; some of you are thinking upon one thing, and some upon another. The lady Hundelsop, sitting by him, but knew her not, he turned to her, and said 'And you are thinking on greeting Jock at the fire-side.' This was a son of her's called John, that she had left very weak of a decay at the fire-side upon a couch; she told this to several afterwards, that in the very time, there was a drow of anxiety overwhelmed her about him.

IX. In the year 1682, he went to Ireland; Peter Aird, who lived in the parish of Galstoun, who was taken with me, and imprisoned together, told me, That he followed him some good piece of way, to detain him, until he got his child baptized; he said, I resolve to come back very shortly, and I hope the Lordwill preserve your child, which accordingly he did; and after baptism he said to Peter, If the man of the parish (which was Mr. James Veitch, one of the actually indulged) had baptized your child, you would have got your horned beasts kept, and now you will lose them: which came to pass a few days thereafter; the enemies came and took away his cattle every beast, but he fled with his horses.

X. In the same year 1682, he married John Kirkland and Janet Lindsey, who were both my very dear acquaintances, who told me, That when they were standing before him, he sighed deeply, and said, 'First one husband killed, and then another, and must have a third; if it must be so, let her say good is the will of the Lord.' Which was and did come to pass; her first

husband, Thomas Weir in Cumberland, was deadly wounded at Drunclog by Claverhouse, the first day of June 1679, being the Sabbath, and died the 5th day; and ensign John Kirkland was killed in Flanders; Kersland, Fullerton, and he, were all buried in one grave: and since, William Spence baillie in Coulter, who also was my intimate acquaintance, married her, both now in their graves.

XI. In the year 1684 he was in Ireland, in the house of John Slowan, in the parish of Conirt in the county of Antrim; about ten of the clock at night, sitting at the fire-side discoursing with some honest people, started to his feet, and said 'Flee, old Sandie, and hide yourself, for colonel——— is coming to this house to apprehend you, and I advise you all to do the like, for they will be here within an hour,' which came to pass; and when they had made a very narrow search within and without the house, and went round the thorn bush under which he was lying praying, they went off without their prey. He came in, and said, 'And has this gentleman (designing by his name) given poor Sandie such a fright, and other poor things? for this night's work, God shall give him such a blow within a few days, that all the physicians on earth shall not be able to cure;' which came to pass, for he died in great misery, vermine flowing from all parts of his body, with such a nauseous stink, that few could enter the room.

XII. About the same time, he was in the same parish and county. One David Cunningham minister there, in the meeting-house, one Sabbath-day, broke out in very bitter reflections on Mr. Peden, and those who heard him. One Mr. Vernor, one of Mr. Cunningham's elders, was very much offended at the same; he told Mr. Peden on Monday what Mr. Cunningham had said; Mr. Peden walking in his garden, took a turn about, came back, and charged him to go and tell Mr. Cunningham from him, that before Saturday's night he should be as free of a meeting house as he was: which came to pass; he was charged that same week, not to enter his meeting house under the pain of death. This account one John Mac-George, in the parish of Orr in Galloway, gives, who was there present.

XIII. About the same time, he was in the house of the foresaid John Slowan, who was a great friend to our Scotch sufferers, who fled there from the persecution here, as I have heard John Muirhead and others give an account; his son James Slowan gives me this and several other distinct accounts: the foresaid Mr. Cunningham carried over many of the reviews of the history of the indulgence, to spread in Ireland, in defence of the inculgence here: when Mr. Peden heard of them he said to some friends, 'Be not discouraged, for these books will do no hurt in this country, for I saw the sale of them spilt this last night,' and so it came to pass, the most part of them was returned to Scotland.

XIV. He was preaching one Sabbath night, in the said John Slowan's house, a great number both within and without hearing him; where he insisting shewing the great usefulness of seeking and getting spiritual riches, brought in an example; 'If any man of you were going to Belfast or Bellimony, they would be looking their pockets what they have to bear their charges; One man standing without, said quietly, Lord help me, for I have nothing to bear mine; Mr. Peden said immediately (pointing to the door) Poor man, do not fear; for I have it out of heaven, as with an audible voice, thy charges shall be borne, and that in a remarkable manner;' which rejoiced him to think his case was made known to him: however, that man has been mercifully and remarkably supported since, and that in the way of his duty.

XV. In the same place, in a Sabbath morning's family worship, he sang the 145th Paslm, the 17th verse; he said, 'Sirs I charge you to sing this psalm in faith, for we will have a toom throne belyve; some have given him a deadly wound, though poor Monmouth hath no hand in it; a fowler when he shoots a bird, it may rise and fly, but not far, for there is some shot in it. Within ten days after, the news of Charles the II'ds death was confirmed.

XVI. About the same time, he said to James Slowan, 'We must go to another house this night, for I am mistaken, if there be not a very narrow search

this night:' they went to William Craig's, and James went with him to the house, and returned to his own bed; when he awaked, the house was full of constables, and others, making search for prisoners who had broke prison and fled, but found none.

XVII. Mrs. Maxwell, or Mary Elphinstone, yet alive, whom I mentioned in the former passages, whose heart-thoughts Mr. Peden told, when her child was baptized; that child is now a married woman, and hath children of her own, whom I spake with last about three months ago, come far from Kilmarnock to publick occasions about 50 miles distant; Mrs. Maxwell told me since, when last in Glasgow, that when she told me that, she forgot to tell me also, that when the child was in her father's arms, Mr. Peden said, 'That child's coming here at this time, is a testimony against the unfaithfulness of the ministers in Ireland; Ireland thinks that Carolina in America will be a refuge for them, but, as the Lord lives, that shall be no shelter to them. And these of them, designing there at this time, many of them shall lose their lives, and the rest come home in great distress.' And at that time, there were two ships setting out from Ireland to Carolina, one of them was cast away near Carolina, and sevenscore of people in her, the one half was lost; Mr. James Brown, one of the ministers of Glasgow since the revolution, was one of the 70 who were preserved: the other ship was driven back to Ireland, shattered and disabled, and the people greatly distressed.

XXVIII. One time travelling his alone in Ireland, the night came on, with a dark mist, which obliged him to go into a house belonging to a quaker; Mr. Peden said, 'I must beg the favor of the roof of your house all night;' the quaker said, 'Thou art a stranger, thou art very welcome, and shalt be kindly entertained, but I cannot wait upon thee, for I am going to the meeting.' Mr. Peden said, 'I will go along;' the quaker said, 'Thou may if thou please, but thou must not trouble us:' he said, 'I shall be civil.' When they came to the meeting, as their ordinary is, they sat for some time silent, some with their faces to the wall, and others covered; being a void in the loft above

them, there came down the appearance of a raven, and sat upon one man's head, who started up immediately and spoke with such vehemence, that the froth flew from his mouth; it went to a second, and did likewise: Mr. Peden, sitting next to his landlord, said, 'Do you not see? you will not deny yon afterwards:' he said, 'Thou promised to be silent.' From a second to a third man's head, who did as the former two. When they dismissed, going home, Mr. Peden said to his landlord, 'I always thought there was devilry among you, but I never thought that he did appear visibly among you, till now I have seen it. O, for tho Lord's sake, quit this way, and flee to the Lord Jesus, in whom there is redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of all your iniquities;' the poor man fell a weeping, and said, 'I perceive that God hath sent you to my house, and put it in your heart to come along with me, and permitted the devil to appear visibly among us this night, I never saw the like before; let me have the help of your prayers, for I resolve, through the Lord's grace, to follow this way no longer:' after this he became a singular christian; and when he was a dying, blessed the Lord, that in mercy sent the man of God to his house.

XIX. There is an old christian woman living at the water of Leith, that in the beginning of 1682, went to Ireland, to the foresaid parish of Conirt, (being big with child) to an aunt's house who lived there. Shortly after she was safe delivered, Mr. Peden baptized her child; after she was recovered: she went on a Sabbath's morning to the foresaid John Slowan's house where Mr. Peden was expecting sermon: being snow, she and others sat down in the kitchen at the fire-side. Mr. Peden came, calling for water to his hands: when he saw them, he said, 'For what do ye come here, without ye had been advertised? for I have nothing prepared for you.' They said, 'O sir, you must not send us away empty, for we are in a starving condition.' He said, 'I cannot promise you; but if I can get any thing, ye shall not want it: a little while thereafter, he called, and said, 'Let not these people away, for I'll come to them shortly;' which he did, and

preached upon that text, 'The day being far spent they constrained him to tarry all night' Where he broke out into strange raptures, expressing his great fears of the Lord's departure from these lands; England for superstition and profanity: Ireland for security and formality, great shall thy stroke be, that in few years ye may travel forty miles in Ireland, and not get a light to your pipe,' which came to pass four years thereafter in that last rebellion. 'O Scotland, many, long and great shall thy judgments be of all kinds, especially the West and South, for lothing and contempt of the gospel, covenant breaking, burning and burying, shedding of innocent, dear, precious blood. O! all ye that can pray, tell all the Lord's people to try by mourning and prayer, if they can taigle him; O see if ye can taigle him, taigle him, especially in Scotland, for we fear he will depart from it:' when ended, he said, 'Take ye that among you, and make a good use of it, for I have gotten it new and fresh out of heaven, and had nothing of it this morning.' The aforesaid John Muirhead, and the said old woman, and others, told me they were never witness to such a day for many years, both from preacher and hearers.

XX. After this, this old woman longed to be home to Scotland, her husband, whose name was Paton, being in danger, and hearing of such a killing in Scotland, being 1685, one of the bloody years upon scaffolds and fields: and, indeed the din was no greater than the deed: A bark being to go off with passengers, she resolving to go along, went to take her leave of Mr. Peden, who found him in a wood, with John Muirhead, and others of our Scots sufferers. She told him of her design; he mused a little, and then said, 'Go not away, 'till I speak with you:' he took a turn through the wood, when he came back, he said, 'Janet, go back to your aunt's, for you will not see Scotland these five months, and there will strange things go through Scotland ere you go to it, and you will see a remarkable providence in your being stopt.' The bark went off, and was cast away, and seventeen dead corpses of the passengers were cast out to the place where they took them in: in which bark she resolved

to have been with her child. John Muirhead gave me this account also.

XXI. After he came to Scotland in the beginning of March 1685, fleeing from the enemy on horseback, and they pursuing forced him to ride to a water, where he was in great danger of being lost; when he got out, he cried, 'Lads, follow not me: for I assure you ye want my boat, and so will certainly drown: consider where your landing will be; ye are fighting for hell, and running post to it: which affrighted them to enter the water.

XXII. At another time being hard pursued, forced him to take a dangerous bog, and a moss before him: one of the dragoons, more forward than the rest, run himself into that bog, and he and horse were never seen more.

XXIII. Lying sick in a village near Cumnock, he told his landlord, who was afraid to keep his house, the soldiers came to travel through that town the next day: 'Ye need not fear to let me stay in your house, for some of these soldiers shall keep centry at this door but shall not come in, which came to pass.' His landlord being digging stones at the end of that village, told the officers, that he was afraid the soldiers would plunder his cottage; they said, 'Poor man you deserve encouragement for your virtue; be not afraid for your house, we shall order two soldiers to stand at your door, that none may enter to wrong you;' which they did.

XXIV. Lying sick about the same time, his landlord was afraid to keep him in his house: the enemy being in search for hiding people, he was obliged to make his bed amongst the standing corn, at which time there was a great rain raising the waters, but not one drop to be observed within ten foot of his bed while he lay in the field.

XXV. About this time he came to Garfield in the parish of Mauchlin to the house of Matthew Hog, a smith to his trade. He went into his barn, but thought himself not safe; foot and horse of the enemy being searching for wanderers, as they were then called. He desired the favor of his loft, being an old waste

house two story high; Matthew refused him; he said 'Well, well, poor man, you will not let me have the shelter of your roof, but that house shall be your judgment and ruin.' Sometime after, the gavel of that house fell, and killed both him and his son. Many neighbors were at the taking off the heavy stones off them, which crushed their bodies in a frightful manner, as some of them who were present told me.

XXVI. About the same time, he came to Andrew Normand's house in the parish of Alloway, in the shire of Air, being to preach at night in his barn. After he came in, he halted a little, leaning upon a chair-back, with his face covered: when he lifted his head, he said, 'They are in this house that I have not one word of salvation unto:' he halted a little again, saying, 'This is strange that the devil will not go out, that we may begin our work:' then there was a woman went out, ill looked upon almost all her life, and to her dying hour, for a witch, with many presumptions of the same. It escaped me in former passages, what John Muirhead, whom I have often mentioned, told me, That when he came from Ireland to Galloway, he was at family worship, and giving some notes upon the scripture read, there was a very ill looking man came in and sat down within the door, at the back of the halend; immediately he halted, and said, 'There is some unhappy body just now come into this head, I charge him to go out, and not stop my mouth:' the body went off, and he insisted he saw him neither come in nor go out.

XXVII. In that bloody year 1685, he came to a house in the shire of Air, captain John Matthison, and other twelve of our wanderers being in the house, he said, 'Lads, ye must go to the fields and seek your beds; for the enemy will be here this night, and I'll go to my cave;' they said, 'Some of us will stay with you, for you will weary your alone;' No said he, 'I will not weary; for, as a sign to you that the enemy will be here this night, a godly eminent christian man whom I have often heard of, but never saw, will come and ly with me this night:' all which came to pass; for the men fled, and himself entered the cave, and

fell asleep! and a little thereafter, the said man coming to the family, and asking for Mr. Peden, desired access to the cave, and to ly with him; who, when lain down in bed, found Mr. Peden slumbering, but within a little he awoke, and naming the man, asked how he did? The soldiers came that night but missed their prey. The next morning when these said men returned, he said, 'Lads, it was well I came to this house yesternight, otherwise ye had been among their bloody hands this day.

XXVIII. In the said 1685, he came to Welwood, to capt. John Campbel's, he having escaped out of the Cannongate tolbooth, in August 1684; and he in danger every day, resolved to go to America, took farewell of friends, and went a ship-board; Mr. Peden said to his Mother, 'Mistris, what's become of John?' she said, 'He's gone to America;' he said, 'No, no, he's not gone; send for him, for he'll never see America.' Accordingly, it was so; a storm rose, where he was in danger, but was preserved, and came off, and is yet alive.

XXIX. Since the publishing of the former passages of Mr. Peden's life and death, with the preface, I received two letters from Sir Alexander Gordon, of Earlstoun, in the year 1725 and 1726, since gone to his grave; shewing, that he was not only fully satisfied, but much refreshed, both with preface and passages; requesting me not to delay the publishing of all that I propose in that preface; and that he longs to see them, ere he go off the stage: knowing that my day is far spent, being long since I was his fellow prisoner, and taught him from my own experience, how to manage the great weight of irons that was upon his legs; and wishing that all the Lord's people, who have any zeal for the sworn to, and sealed testimony, and savoury remembrance of the names of Christ's slain witnesses for the same, and of the Lord's signal manifestations of his faithfulness and all-sufficiency to them in their life and death, would give me all encouragement, in such a piece of good and great generation-work, that may be useful and edifying, when he and I are both mouldered to the dust; for himself he willingly would

and sometime of day could; but now being seventy-four years of age, and seven years imprisoned, and often times in irons, and many other troubles through his life, his memory and judgment were much broke, he could make me little help; only he remembered, he was once sent from the societies in Galloway to Carrick, to call Mr. Peden to preach; when he told him for what end he was come, Mr. Peden went for sometime his alone; when he came back, he said, 'I'm sorry, Earlstoun, you are come so far in vain, for I cannot answer your desire; I can get nothing to say to your people; nothing will convince this generation but judgments, and a surprising lump of them upon the West of Scotland.' 'Earlstoun said, 'Sir, you was once legally ordained and authorised to preach the gospel, and the Lord's people's call is sufficient.' He looked upon that as a tentation of enthusiasm; Mr. Peden said, 'He sometimes feared that: but since he was driven from his people in Glenluce, his Master, in mercy and goodness, gave him more encouragement:' and gave one instance, that one time he was called, and resolved, and prepared, as he thought to go; when his horse was drawn, he went into the barn once more, where he was stript bare of all his thoughts and a darkening damping cloud overwhelmed him, that stopt him; and he afterwards saw a remarkable providence in it, and need be for it. And further he said, the last time that he saw Mr. Peden, was with Mr. Donald Cargil, where they continued a long time, comparing notes; seeing with one eye, and thinking with one mind, and speaking with one breath, of all things past, present, and what was to befall this church and nation.

XXX. In his last sermon, which I said before, was in the Colum-wood: where he said, 'That a few years after his death, there would be a wonderful alteration of affairs in Britain and Ireland, and the persecution in Scotland cease, ; upon which every body should believe the deliverance was come, and consequently would fall fatally secure:' But I tell you said he, 'you will be all very far mistaken, for both England and Scotland will be scourged by foreigners, and a set of

unhappy men in these lands, taking part with them, before any of you can pretend to be happy, or get a thorough deliverance; which will be a more severe chastisement, than any other they have yet met with, or can come under, if once that were over.'

POSTSCRIPT,

Containing answers to a few of the many reflections upon the foregoing preface and passages of Mr. PEDEN's Life and Death, and his notes upon the covenant of redemption: as,

1. I AM reflected upon, and that several times to my face, by all divided parties, especially dissenters, and particularly by these of them commonly called M'Millanites, but quite wrong designed, who should be called Hamiltonians, after Robert Hamilton, who was the only man (as I shall afterwards instruct) that led them in these untrodden, dangerous paths of positive disowning of the state, and separation from the church, and all others, that dare not, nor will not go their lengths in principles and practices, proclaiming the same to the world; but it is straight before me, and I firmly resolve, if the Lord will, to give a more distinct account of the rise, steps, and unheard of heights, of all the right hand extremes, that have been in Scotland these forty-nine years, past and present; and set them up as beacons to the following ages, to beware of splitting upon such dangerous rocks.

That which they chiefly reflect upon, is, in page third, for my saying, That without vanity, I have a more perfect understanding of the former period of persecution (I should have added remembrance) than any I know now alive.

Answ. If they and others were not blinded with prejudice at me, and a vain, foolish conceit of themselves, and their actings, they, and all may see, that I frequently spake of forty-four years then, now forty-eight; and of these whom I know yet upon the stage,

not but that there may be some yet alive, whom I know not, and others of a longer standing and remembrance much older: and those whose names they mention, I have conversed with them, and find them quite rusted, the edge of their zeal being as blunt as culters, and utterly averse from giving any account of what they were witness unto, being now idle tales to them: but it is plain, that these formed, divided parties of dissenters, are so puft up with a frothy conceit of themselves, and their actings, that they speak and write with, as if religion, zeal and faithfulness, wit and sense, would live and die with them; and none to know any thing of the times, nor what Israel ought to do, disdaining, disesteeming, disregarding, rash and harsh constructing of all those who differ from, or oppose them or their way of managing of a testimony; the very reverse of a gospel spirit: and I am sadly confirmed by the many long, melancholy debates these forty-eight years, of the truth of this spiritual pride rampant amongst them. And, for as much as I am charged with defection and apostacy by tongue and pen, published to the world; yet, this day, I ingenuously declare, after a serious back-look of all these forty-eight years, I know nothing in these national concerns that ever I espoused either in principle or practice, but what, if I were back in that period, under the same dispensations and circumstances, I would be more confident of, and forward in, than ever; and all that I have seen and heard ever since the revolution, have been confirming to me of the well-sounded covenanted plea against tyranny and defections, left and right-hand: but these separatists, and disowners of all judicatories, civil and ecclesiastick, their tongues and their pens are their own, and who is Lord over them? being smitten with a mixed conscience, partly tender, partly erring and scrupulous; and three mistakes that I have found common amongst them.

First, With the fifth monarchy-men or millenaries, mistaking the case of the militant church; expecting a more pure, refined church, than they have ground from the scriptures, and writings of our most sound and solid divines.

Secondly, Their mistaking the case of the church of Scotland, because of their being a handful and succession of faithful witnesses through all the periods thereof, with all due respect to the Lord's worthies in former ages and churches, that since the apostles were taken off the stage, none exceeded them: but as the Scots saying is, 'They take their marks by the moon;' not knowing, or not considering the sad falling-away that was betwixt the 1596, and the 1638, and 1642 years, as I have before made plain, amongst the most part, both ministers and people; and from the 1650th year to this very day.

Thirdly, Their mistaking, and not having the experience of the difficulties of wielding both swords, civil and ecclesiastick, at all times, but more especially in this critical, censorious age; for whatever sad lamentable restraint there is upon the spirit of conviction and conversion, and of a reforming covenanting spirit; the serious exercise, and solid practice of christianity, almost gone out of request amongst the greater part of all ranks, iniquity abounding, and love waxing very cold; yet there is an increase of world's wit and activity, that none can make a wrong step, but some will make an handle of it against them. And many things would have been taken in good part off the hands of our fathers, that will not pass now; and if these formed divided parties of dissenters, had the sword of discipline and government in their hands, it would be odd hagging and hashing they would make, and seldom hit upon the right lith or joint. Further, I earnestly request of all the Lord's people, who have any well-balanced zeal according to knowledge, for the sworn to and sealed testimony, and savoury remembrance of the names of Christ's slain witnesses in this land, for the same; that they would carefully advert, that though these dissenters of Harlotes, Howdenites, M'Millanites, and these who gave him and that the wind of their heels, for their representing grievances, and seeking redress from king George I, after he was proclaimed king, but not crowned (for until then they did not reckon him king of Britain) be all formed and divided parties from

one another; and every party pretending to be the only anti's in the kingdom, against all evil things, and for all good; maintaining and transmitting the testimony, as it was handed down to the revolution: yet they all agree in these two anti-presbyterian principles in such a period, in a positive proclaiming their disowning of the state, and separation from the church, and all ministers and members that dare not go up with them in every jot in their overstretched consequences. 2. They all agree against paying of all crown-dues, even under this peaceable government, under which we enjoy religion, life and liberty; which never any of our ministers or martyrs, did preach or witness against: I appeal to all their testimonies, even under that period of reigning tyrants and raging tyranny, when we were deprived of all that was near and dear to us, as men and christians; they did indeed preach, and martyrs did indeed leave their testimonies against paying of that additional cess, enacted and uplifted, and the end of it proclaimed for upholding reigning tyrants, increasing, strengthening and lengthening of tyranny: the Gibbites in 1681, and Russelites in 1682, and for some years, did maintain the same unhappy principles and practices; and stated their testimonies against paying of excise and customs, and other foolish things, not only for themselves, but separation from all that durst not go their lengths, even when imprisoned together, going as far from us as the walls of the prison would allow them, and stopping their ears when we went about public worship three times a day, which was our ordinary in each room: which, if the Lord spare, I shall give a full account of. It is a piece of demented infatuation, to make little or no difference betwixt that period and this, and to follow the same methods that the Lord's people were obliged to take against tyranny and defections. Let all who desire to be truly informed of the beginning, rise, height and length, of the tyranny of that twenty-eight years persecution, read the sufferings and grievances of Presbyterians, especially those of them nick-named Cameronians, written by famous Mr. Shields; he sometimes said since the revolution, That he was as

clear and free to write and preach in defence of the lawfulness of paying the cess to this government, as ever he was to write or preach against the unlawfulness of paying of it, under the former reigns; notwithstanding I can instruct place and persons, where Mr. M'Millan refused baptism to an honest man's child, asking no other question, but, If he paid the cess? He said, It was not required of him: Mr. M'Millan said, If it were, would you pay it? he answered, He would, for he did not look upon the paying of it now, as in the time of persecution: he said, He would administer church-privileges to none who were of that judgment. Disowning, disowning of the state; separation, separation, separation, is their testimony, even amongst themselves from one another, and from all who dare not go their unheard-of lengths, both ministers and professors, who are as free of the defections of the day as any of them can pretend to. I wish from my very heart, that all of them would bethink themselves, and consider the sins, snares, and dangers of these disowning, dividing courses, and what may be their sad effects and consequences to themselves and others, especially in such a perilous time, when the wind of error is blowing so hard upon the foundations of the doctrine of the gospel, by unhappy Simson, and the many legal formalists, among ministers and professors; and that they and all would read our Bibles, confessions of faith, catechisms, and sum of saving knowledge; and that excellent catechism by Mr. Hamilton, sometime minister in Airth, now when so many, through the land, have cast off all ministers, quitting one of the special means of salvation, and many getting but a sermon or two in the whole year; and thereby learn to be sound protestants in principles, who make so much noise of being strict Presbyterians in judgment; and not pace so much, if not all be of their religion in these thorny points; and seriously peruse that sententious published letter, writ by blessed Cargil, to the Gibbites in the correction-house, the greater part of them gracious souls, and had good effects upon them; and that they would lay aside prejudice, and consider that com-

pendious treatise written by worthy Mr. Shields upon church-communion, and against separation from the church of Scotland; which they say, is a slanderous, foolish, lying postscript to their pamphlets, That Mr. Linning, who was the publisher, hath fathered it upon him; but it is plain to all (that it fathers itself) who have read his writings, and heard him preach, reason and debate, as soon as we entered into this period, under other dispensations and circumstances; and as he was the only and alone minister, that concurred and assisted the never to be forgotten Mr. James Renwick in the writing the informatory vindication, and testimony against the toleration, so he was the only fit man to sense and explain them; and his published methods and motives that induced him and others to unite with the church at that time, considering his answers to their objections; and there are some yet alive, worthy of all credit, who were witnesses to his public conference with them on these heads, who can testify that he spake with the same breath that now is published.

And when Robert Hamilton came from abroad among them, they got a brow of brass, calling him a liar, and upbraided him to his face, saying, Although he used these arguments to draw them out of the way of the Lord, yet you dare not publish them. I well remember he said, Dare I not? dare I not? I promise before you all, I both dare and will, and vow it before the world. But alas! they still gave us a deaf ear, and now will not be spoken to, nor plead with: however it stands for our mite of testimony. That, as blest Cargil said, that performance of duty was one thing, and success was another; but he would be rather wanting in the success, than he were wanting in the performance, although both be desireable. But, if the Lord spare, I resolve to give the world a more surprising account of the rude treatment, and unheard-of ingratitude Mr. Shields, Linning, and others received at that time, and since at their hands. They say, in the end of that lying postscript, That it ill became Mr. Linning to oppose them: for it was to their purses he was beholden for what advances he

attained to when abroad. I know none now alive who was more concerned, both in contributions and distributions, than I was in these years; and yet I ingenuously declare, I never heard Mr. Linning's name mentioned amongst us a person in these circumstances; and I know assuredly, that he was supplied in and by the honourable laird of Kersland's family; and although it had been as they say, it was but the least part of it that belonged to them: all know that it was the fewest number of the united societies, that was led off with Robert Hamilton, to the disowning of king William as king of Britain, and his government. the greater part reckoned it their duty, to take a legal unite way of witnessing, by humble pleadings, representations, and protestations, pleading for, and with their mother, to put away her whoredoms. But that which induced them to publish that lying postscript, was to evite the dint of Mr. Shields' unanswerable answers to their objections against communion with this church, now when they know he is not to answer for himself: if he had been spared to this day, he would have owned and avowed all that is in it, for I was witness to his writing of it in Corsick, in the parish of Carmichael, shortly after that promise in a public meeting in the kirk of Douglas; and I well remember, the best chamber he then had, when he wrote it, was an old kiln, and a pickle of his horse's hay for his chair, and his feet below his horse's belly. I have sometimes wondered, that these people were not ashamed to speak of this, which I heard them in a public meeting at Douglas, at which Mr. Shields and others were very much ashamed; but far more to publish to the world, when we are so expressly prohibited out of our blessed Lord's own mouth, not to let our left hand know what our right hand doth in these things: this is a sounding of the trumpet indeed; and I have thought strange, that Mr. John M Neillie, one of their preachers, and especially concerned in their public prints, suffered this to be insert, when he himself was so much supported that way. I well remember, that at our public distributions, singular James Wilson frequently said, Let us not forget Wil-

lie M'Neillie's son, there is something in him, I know not whether he will do good or ill with it, which remains a question to this day, all things considered: if Mr. M'Neillie were only their preacher, and not principally concerned in their public managements, it should have been far from me to have mentioned this; however, this and many other things about them and amongst them are holding evidences, and sad swatches, of what manner of antigospel spirits these formed divided parties are of, that do not blush to slander with tongue and pen, those who differ from them; and the more pious, tender and zealous they are, the more set and bent that way, to reproach, exclaim, and defame the names of all such as I shall afterwards instruct. But oh! and alas! how lamentable it is, and to be lamented with bitter weeping! if we saw with clear eyes, it would affect and break our hearts, to look back upon our many and long 78 years left hand defections, and 49 years right hand extremes, and look about us at the time, the nation wasting, the church sinking, and that spirit of delusion, division and confusion, poured out amongst the foresaid formed, divided parties, and their managements, which have a direct tendency to blot and bludder that active testimony, maintained and sealed against tyranny and defection in the former period, and to make the present and following ages to conclude, that all our earnest contenders were men of like spirits. And now these four years past, two new lights risen up, to darken all the burning, shining lights, that have been through the periods thereof, and to augment the fierce anger of the Lord against sinful Scotland, viz. professor Simpson in Glasgow, and Mr. Glass in Tealing, both with Edom's children, crying, Raze, raze, the very foundation. Mr. Simpson a hotch-potch or bagful of Arian, Arminian, Socinian, Pelagian, old condemned, damnable errors, infecting the youth, giving ground to fear it will spread further, and leaven more; and such tares long or never rooted out of this land, notwithstanding the greater part of ministers pleading in his favour, against deposition, and excommunication; although the Lord in mercy, as a token for good, hath

given a spirit and open mouth to a few earnestly to contend against him and them, and plead for both. His sham dry-eyed repentance to prevent both, which his favourites made a handle of, especially principal Chalmers in Aberdeen, compared him to Peter, although he fell, he got his commission renewed: whereas there was no comparison, Peter's fall being a violent surprise of tentation, suddenly committed, and quickly repented of, and that with bitter weeping: whereas Simpson came not the length of Judas, saying 'I have sinned;' but hath been obstinate, jangling and wrangling these 14 years, since worthy Mr. James Webster first accused and opposed him, when he had few to stand by him; and since that time waxing worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived; and as if he were a simpleton, and could not speak for himself, nor hell to assist him, he is allowed to bring in his law-advocates, and others sitting there as elders, with their long harangues in his defence, wasting the assembly's time, and pratting like parrots in a cage, upon the highest and deepest points of divinity; as that of Christ's necessary existence and self-independence, which cannot but be very grievous to any tender gracious soul. The judicatories of this church took other methods and measures with the godly, zealous, painful ministers of Christ, Mr. Hepburne, and Mr. Gilchrist touched in the foregoing preface: and the astonishing height of excommunication of Mr. Gilchrist and Taylor, which was the deed of the whole church. The representers and protesters, Mr. Hog, Mr. Kid, and Mr. Bathgate and others, at different times and judicatories, got the greater part to speak and vote against them, and few to speak in their favours. And Mr. Gabriel Wilson, after long tossing for his synodical sermon, *The trust*, which would require some threaves of his and it's accusers to deliver such a sermon: he was discharged from speaking in defence of his doctrine in open assembly, and himself called insolent, and the few words he spake, insolence, as I have before related. What ground of rejoicing may all these things be to the Philistines, and hardening to the hardened age!

2dly, Mr. Glass striking at the foundation of our covenanted reformation, overturning the constitution, government and discipline of this church, and setting up an independent church within this church, which was never heard of before in Scotland; which is a direct breach of his ordination engagements, although he hath been a member all his days, and fixed minister for some years; and now denying the lawfulness of national covenanting under the New Testament dispensations, and all our martyrs, who had the owning of our national covenants, with the many other articles of their indictments, died so far unenlightened, by denying church privileges to all, who cannot give a credible account of their faith, which is a very unsafe and unsure rule to walk by: many, by a clatter of common gifts, can talk about faith, that know not what it is in good earnest: others, who know by experience what it is, cannot express themselves, especially in publick. It was a saying of one of our blessed primitive martyrs to their enemies, that though they could not debate for Christ, yet they could burn for him. The presbyterian rules are much more sure and safe, if they were practised: that is, a competency of knowledge, a professed belief of all heaven's revelations, subjection to all gospel ordinances, and nothing in practice contradictory unto, and inconsistent with the same. I have often thought, that the independents run upon the extreme of strictness, and the greater part of Presbyterians upon the opposite of laxness, and never more than at this day; which possibly hath been stumbling to Mr. Glass, as it is indeed very offensive to all tender gracious souls. It was the gross corruptions of the church of England, and gross errors among other sectaries, the laxness and looseness in principle and practice, and promiscuous admissions of Presbyterians in England, and other places, that stumbled many great gracious souls amongst the independents, that made them fall into that way of independency; who, when some of them were in Scotland with Cromwell, when they saw the form and order of the church of Scotland, particularly great doctor Owen said to Mr. Donald Cargil, That if he was to reside

in Scotland, he would entirely fall in with this church, and think it his honour to sit a member in one of her assemblies. Nevertheless, though they be the most refined of all sectaries, yet the very first that we engage against, in our engagements to duties. There are several other things in Mr. Glass's published papers, distinctly answered by pens, which I cannot pretend to: but Mr. Archbald, minister in Guthry, in the shire of Angus, is yet more inexcusable, who hath expressed more than ordinary strictness in Presbyterian principles, and his zeal for our national covenant engagements; which overjoyed the Hamiltonians, in hopes that he would break off from the church, and take part with them: and had also much sympathy with Mr. M'Millan, that he travelled fifty miles by sea and land to Edinburgh, to marry him upon his present wife; and, who hath been esteemed a serious christian, and painful minister by many, and did undergo the trials of his parts and principles at his ordination; and in July last prayed and preached in the forenoon of the fast-day, before the sacrament at Tealing, upon that text, 'Except thy presence go with us, carry us not up hence.' Yet, in the afternoon, stood up with some professors, and gave an account of his faith, before the members of that new constitute church; Mr. Glass having a list of their names about fifty or sixty, enquiring at every one of them, man and woman, if they were all satisfied to receive them into their communion, which they all gave their consent to: when he and these professors were taken by the hand, Mr. Glass repeating these words, 'And they were daily added to the church, such as should be saved:' which sounds harsh enough; as if salvation were only to be found in that new erected church: Mr. Glass did also enquire at him, If he had any thing to object against them, why he could not continue in communion, and breaking of bread with them? which he said, he would do monthly: Mr. Glass did also enquire at every one of his scrolled members, If they were all satisfied to give tokens to such and such persons in other congregations?

There is much noise of the great piety and parts of Mr. Simson and Mr. Glass, and the great good they have done in their respective charges: so was *Arrius*, *Arminius*, *Socinus*, and *Palagius*, and many others, who first invented and spread errors, whether more gross or refined: for as much as the devil hath and will undergo to eternity, for his pride and subtility; yet he retains more of that, than to lay his leg over a bauchle, that will not answer his design.

A second reflection is, upon page 5th, for my saying that Scots blood has gone out of our veins, honesty out of our hearts, zeal off our spirits, and the English abominations drunk in as sweet wine with pleasure.

Answ. This is a lamentably sad truth, which will be denied by none, who either hears, sees, understands or thinks upon these few, amongst many instances that might be given.

First, Their building and erecting meeting-houses for their high church liturgy, (or rather lethargy) with their service books, of reading preachings and prayers, and bag-pipes of organs, and singing boys; an easy wanton gate, if it were the way to heaven; but very unsavoury food to an enlightened believing soul, that sees its lostness, and need of Christ, which will not only starve, but poison them; king James VI. called it an ill-mumbled mass, and few tongues or pens to move against it. It was far otherwise in Scotland, at the dawning of our blessed reformation from strumpet prelacy, at the 1638, after forty-two years defection, when they brought in their service-books to the kirks of Edinburgh, Torpichin, and other places, where women threw their kirk-stools at their faces, and made them begone in haste; and some few faithful ministers made their pulpits to ring against them.

Secondly, 'Tis said by some intelligent publick persons, That adultery exceeds fornication in Scotland; that they find more married people in bawdy houses than lads and lasses: this vile abomination is known to abound in England.

Thirdly, Bigamy and polygamy, is known, of men having two, some four wives: this is much to be im-

puted to a set of scum-curates, and base off-casten Presbyterians, who, above all men that the sun shines upon, are the most contemptible; who must have their pint and their gill, damn and confound like other debauchees, which I can instruct; and will marry a man upon his mother or sister, for a shilling of money and a pint of twopenny. I can instruct place and persons who made this agreement, and the man had a wife and children of his own.; by these means no parent is sure of their children when they go out, but they may be married ere night, and marriage confirmed as they speak, upon a few hours acquaintance; yea, by many it is thought a stain, to be orderly proclaimed and married: as few or none of these seek God's blessing to their marriage, as few gets it; but the old saying holds with the most part of these, 'Hasty marriages are sudden vengeances; and these of them that have been in uncleanness, will get their marriage-lines anti-dated for six-pence, to evite censure and shame.

Fourthly, Their dreadful unheard-of ways of swearing, the devil's free volunteers, crying to damn their souls for Christ's sake, and others for his glory's sake which are to be heard in our streets; others wagering their bottles of wine, who to outstrip in greatest oaths; others, when their comrades are going for England, request them, as their best service and news, that if there be any new coined oaths, to write and send them down, for the old ones in Scotland are become stale: Many have changed the holy and blessed name of God to Gad, one of his sinful mortal creatures; yea, some called Presbyterian ministers, who affect the English cant follow their hellish example even in their pulpits, which I have heard; which struck me with consternation. and filled me with indignation, to hear the holy name of God so irreverently mentioned, or rather blasphemed; and many tender souls, complaining of it to me, declared, that it made their hearts to quake. The reverend sententious old M. James Kirton, said in his pulpit in Edinburgh, that swearing was not a saint's sin, for it was not possible that a saint of God could be guilty of it habitually. I remember near forty years ago, I was with an old tender singular

christian, who came under great trouble of spirit, which put her in a distemper which was surprising and affecting to her old intimate christian acquaintances, her distemper being somewhat high; James Wilson and I were holding her hands, she had the word devil in her mouth, but got it not fully pronounced: her heart so smote her, which made her throw her hands out of ours, clapped and wrung them, and cried out, 'Now I know assuredly that I am cast off and forsaken of God, that my enemy triumphs thus over me, the least of oaths was never in my mind or mouth before;' for which she wept bitterly until she fell asleep. She came to her right mind about two years before her death; she minded it, and was ashamed of it; how much more reason have our debauchees, who are running as in a race, in this and other courses of wickedness, who to be foremost to hell; and many professors, who frequently have devil, faith, fiend, shame, and such like in their mouths! but custom in sinning, sears and slays the conscience.

Fifthly, Often profanation of the Lord's day, is so common in England, that it is hard among the greater part, to know the Sabbath from the week day, and more and more abounding in Scotland; the throng streets, particularly fields, milk houses, ale houses in and about Edinburgh, is a sad evidence of this; many going to the field before sermons, and after sermons multitudes go to their walks; and through the kingdom people coming and going to and from the kirks, and between sermons, not one word amongst the greater part of the Sabbath, or where they are going or where they have been, and what they have been hearing; as some tender christians have said to me that they have been very straitened how to be free of all company coming and going, and their hearing so much carnal discourse, and wisned, warsh, coldrife, formal sermons, have made them many times stay at home, and spend the day their alone; an holding evidence, amongst many others, of a great restraint upon the spirit of grace; it was far otherwise in our sunblink-days of the gospel, as some of our old, exercised, tender, self-denied christians, have said to me,

That they were straitened of a convenient way of coming and going, so many lying in the corn-furrows, and under bushes. The five hundred converts at the Kirk of Shots sacrament the 1630 year, the 20th day of June; while these christians were upon the stage, they would have had little time when they met, but they would have had some notes of that sermon. It is one of the holdingest signs or marks, to try ourselves and others, to know how it is with us and them, according as we remember and keep, or forget and break the Sabbath: I know from sad sxperience, the heart will not be kept; but, I am sure as we may keep our tongues, though we should stop them with our hand, and not sin our own souls, and the souls of others. Open profaning the Sabbath is such a sin, that sometimes hath been punished, by letting them fall into crimes, that have brought them to a dismal end, as I have heard many of our malefactors confess. One instance amongst many, that might be given I cannot pass here, of the Lord's very remarkably punishing the open breach of the Sabbath; which I had from Mrs. Hamilton, that singular christian in Donochadee in Ireland, when I was there, since gone to rest: when her father Mr Andrew Stewart was minister in that place, he discharged all boats or barks to loose on the Sabbath; one Sabbath morning six brisk gentlemen with fine horses and servants, they threatened the seaman to take them in, and go off; they acquainted their minister: he came to the shore in his nightgown, and spake to them: one of them put his hand to his sword, and threatened him, giving him ill names; he walked a little upon the shore, and then said, Go ye off, but if God do not remarkably punish you for contempt of his day and threatening me, he never spake by me. He advised the seamen quietly, to take ten days provision with them, for they would need it, and not to let the gentlemen know of it, otherways they would take it from them, when they came to a strait; being a fair gale, and four or five hours sailing to Port Patrick, they took no provision neither for themselves nor horses: they went off, and were not out of sight, when the wind turned, and rose to a

very great height, and drove them up to the North seas of Scotland, where they were in great danger and distress more than eight days: their horses died for hunger, and some of themselves; and the rest lived not long thereafter: let our many takers and travellers of journies, foot and horse, upon the Lord's day (never so much practised in Scotland as at this day, though common in England) take a look of this frightful beacon.

Sixthly, A sixth instance, That scandalous omission of the worship of God in families, which is too universally found in England, and abounding more amongst us in Scotland, especially in Edinburgh, and most part singing only a verse of a Psalm, and reading a chapter on the Sabbath evening; some pray, and many not, and no more till the next Sabbath evening: and through the kingdom, some only at night, when they and their families are indisposed, being too late, sparing only that bit of time which cost them nothing, and in the morning ere they get their eyes cleared, the devil crying in at the window, up, up, there is so much to do. And to work and meat they go like beasts, without sparing half an hour of their time with their families, to sing forth the Lord's praise for their safety and rest through the night, or prayer to the Lord to be kept in his fear through the day; in scripture they are reckoned among the heathen, and the prophets have prayed for the outpouring of the Lord's fury upon both; and not only the wicked, but all that forget to seek the Lord, will be turned into hell: it was one of the sententious publick sayings of blessed Cargil. That avowed enemies of God, and strangers to a God in Christ, were like rivers that run contrair to the East and to the West, but all run into the ocean of God's wrath at last. The world shall never persuade me, that any gracious soul, that ever bowed a knee in good earnest in secret, will dare habitually to neglect the worship of God in their families, who have them; and yet how many church-officers and members are guilty of this, and admited to all church privileges without censure for it, but for the most part, there is nothing now censured by church

judicatories, but adultery, and fornication: it hath been otherwise, sometime a day in Scotland, that nothing was to pass without censure, less or more, that might be a stain or blot, or ill example to a christian congregation.

Seventhly, Some years ago we had a profane obscene meeting, called *The Horn-order*; and now we have got a new assembly and publick meeting called *Love for Love*, but more truly, *lust for lust*; all nurseries of profanity and vanity, and excitements to base lusts; so that it is a shame to speak of these things that are said and done amongst them. Some years ago also our women deformed their heads with cockups, and now they deform their bodies with hoops or fardingales, nine yards about; some of them in three stories, very unbecoming women professing godliness more fit for harlots: if they had now distinguishing attires, and places where they resorted, as it seems they had of old, they would be easeful to men overrun and overdriven with the fury of unbridled lusts, as Judah was when he went to shear his sheep: if we would allow ourselves to think or consider, we need not be so vain, or look so high, being born heirs of wrath, and our bodies to go to a consuming stinking grave, and after that the resurrection and great day of judgment; and considering the end of our clothing, and how we came by them, to cover our nakedness, and for warmness to our bodies, made frail by reason of sin; and that the sheep's old clothes are our new. I remember about thirty years ago, when cockups were in fashion, some of them half-yard high, set with wires; a solid serious christian gentlewoman told me, she was going to a friend's wedding, her comrades constrained her to put herself in that dress; she was uneasy in her mind, and thought she was not herself through the day: when she came home, before she changed herself, she went to her closet to bethink herself how she had spent that loose time, as weddings and fairs are to the most part, and few that keep a bridle-hand to their spirits at such times; after some thoughts she went to prayer, her conscience challenged her so sharply, that she rose hastily, plucked it off,

and threw it from her, saying, 'Thou nor no such thing shall ever come on my head or body, that I dare not pray with. O that all gracious praying souls, who have a mind for heaven, would take good heed what their bible says, and notice this and such like instances, and lothe, hate and abhor, the sinful, vain, foolish fashions of their day, that the perishing world are ambitious of, who have neither heaven nor hell in their eyes or mind, that all must go to, without exception; many to hell, and few to heaven; and remember, that heart and life-holiness is the way to the last, though not the meritorious cause of it: and all that have ground to expect the end, must endeavour, by all commanded and appointed means, to take and keep the way to it. And in our speech, our scripture and old Scots names are gone out of request; instead of Father and Mother, Mamma and Pappa, training children to speak nonsense, and what they do not understand. These few instances, amongst many that might be given, are additional causes of God's wrath, and the effects and evidences of his displeasure appearing more and more against us, since the incorporating union, mingling ourselves with the people of these abominations, making ourselves liable to their judgment, of which we are deeply sharing: particularly, in that sad stroke and great distress upon many families and persons, of the burning ague, fevers never heard of before in Scotland, to be universal and mortal; that, as blessed Cargil said, We need not doubt of judgments of many kinds, great and long, coming upon this land; for, while we remaind a national and backsliding people, He remained a holy and just God to punish us nationally for our backslidings.

A third reflection, where I say, though I have had the happiness to be a hearer of the gospel from my infancy, in fields and houses: yet of late I have heard some liths and nicks of the gospel made plain, and the way of salvation more perfectly taught than ever: which they say, is a great reflection upon our worthy ministers, who preached the gospel in those days, and suffered for the same.

Answ. This is no ground of reflection, if all would consider that it has been the devil's design through all the periods of the church, when he could not get her burnt with the fire of persecution, then to drown her with floods of errors: witness the half hour's silence in Constantine the Great's time, who was the first christian emperor, and converted in a miraculous way, out of his great zeal and love to ministers, gave them great benefices, which they abused, to the great increase of pride and ambition amongst them; which brought prelacy, and prelacy popery; the Arrian and other errors broke out, darkness and deadness seized upon the most part of their ministers (as, alas! it is the complaint of many thousand gracious souls through Scotland, of the greater part of our own ministers) some of the old christians of that time, who had seen the end of these ten terrible persecutions, and saw the beginning of that day of peace, said, 'When we were poor, and had wooden cups at our sacraments, we had golden ministers: but since we have turned rich, and have gotten golden cups, we have wooden ministers: and if this half blinded age would consider the great difference betwixt our last period and this, in that time the devil sought to destroy us by the consuming flames of persecution, by reigning tyrants and raging tyranny in state, church, and military: now he's about to drown us with floods of errors. The Lord in his mercy and pity to us, did not suffer such an east withering wind to blow in the day of such a rough wind: the foundation of the doctrine of grace was not then struck at; Simson and the legal formalists were not then started up: our worthy ministers then had the national snares and sins to discover, and give warning of, and the doctrine of the cross, and how to bear it, to preach to us; they had not time, books, and conveniences for study, being forced to flee for their lives, especially after Bothwel Bridge, and hide in glens and caves: these few keeping up the publick standard of the gospel, and retaining their faithfulness: they did indeed then preach the substance of all gospel-truths, and a word in these days went for a blessing, and power went along therewith; it came from their

hearts, and went to ours, and stuck there, to the conviction and conversion, confirmation and comfort, of these who had the bloody ropes and bullets to their necks and heads, and many other terrible hard things to meet with. I have several times heard the never to be forgotten Mr. Renwick say, that he was never satisfied with himself, when he got not the work of publick days divided, not knowing but it might be his last, and the last to many of them; as, alas! it was sadly verified in many of the chiefest, the next news being, 'That they were in the enemies' hands, hanged, shot or banished,' in his lecture upon controversies, and his forenoon sermon upon the doctrine of the gospel, and afternoon upon the way of bearing the cross: and, if this carnal brutish age would allow themselves to consider, this is not a matter of reflection, but matter of thanksgiving, and blessing God, that he is yet continuing his loving kindness to sinful, bloody Scotland; that he has not altogether left us, in that he is raising up a succession of witnesses, both ministers and people, to contend earnestly for the faith; a handful of ministers so enlightened and spirited of the Lord to unfold the mysteries of the gospel, and teach the way of salvation in such a clear and distinct manner and method, as ever it was since the apostles went off the stage; but this also gives ground of fear, that if our half-hour's silence or day of peace be lengthened out, the wind of error, delusion, division and confusion, will blow more hard than ever.

A fourth reflection is, upon the seven strange apparitions that I assert, and insert in some of my former passages. The certainty of which I no more doubt than if I had seen and heard them with my own eyes and ears; I had them from christians of entire integrity, who were my very dear and intimate acquaintances; and why should the truth of these preternatural things be called in question, and thought incredible more now than in former ages? long since, miracles, prophesying, and the apostles ceased to be, and the canon of the scripture completed: although it be no miracle or extraordinary providence we lean to, or must lay any stress upon, anent the truth of christian-

ity, we have the scriptures a complete rule of what we are to believe and practise; yet it is the undoubted duty of all the Lord's people to observe the great works of the Lord, and consider his extraordinary appearances, to keep in mind and record them; as we find the Lord's people have done in former ages; as Josephus, Fox, Clark, and singular Mr. Livingston minister in Ancrum, in the fulfilling of the scripture, and God's great appearances under the New Testament dispensation, commonly called a third part, whereof he was the author, and Mr. Fleming the publisher, as I shall make evident afterwards. A few instances amongst many that might be given.

First, Constantine the Great going to war when he was in doubts of the truth of christianity, having only heard some short accounts about it from his father when dying; at noon-day, the day before he joined battle with Maximinius, he and his army saw a vision in the heavens, with that motto upon it, *In Christ ye shall overcome* And that night he was much troubled and concerned to know the meaning, and was made to know it by an audible voice; which motto he caused put upon his coin to be kept in remembrance, and was a mean of his thorow conversion.

Secondly, When the damnable error of Arrianism broke out, denying the divinity of the Son of God, which spread so fast, that it become a common saying, That all the world was become Arrian, which was earnestly contended against by famous Athanasius and others: a voice cried aloud at Rome, 'To day is poison and venom poured out upon the church.' Afterwards Arrius was called for his error before the council of Nice, and obliged to subscribe the Nicean creed: when doing it, Constantine being present, said, 'Arrius, see that you do it with your heart:' he had a written signed paper in his breast, asserting his own tenets: he clapped upon his breast, and said, 'While I live I shall adhere to this.' He went out, and was obliged to turn into a common jack, and purged out all his inwards: and when they found him dead, and took off his clothes, they found that signed paper in his breast. Let our Arrian Simson, his proselytes, and favourites,

look upon this astonishing frightful none-such beacon which did some way resemble that of Judas, who hanged himself over a steep rock; the rope broke, and in his fall all his bowels gushed out. But considering what back-door distinctions our Scots Arrius Simson makes use of, when at any time he's pinched by dint of argument; he may justly be called the most wylie and subtle fox, that ever satan let loose into Christ's vineyard in Scotland since the reformation: but, how lamentable is it, that so many in church and state, ever since he started up, should join in a growing combination, especially at the last Assembly to oppose his deposition and excommunication! whereas, according to the sentiments of some great men, he deserveth death by the divine law.

Thirdly, The astonishing showers of blood that fell in Germany upon their clothes and tables, that could not be washed off; which struck the emperor and all that saw it with fear, before the forty years bloody wars began, that these showers of blood did presage: there were also great swarms of locusts of a strange form, which did eat up the fruits of the ground, that increased that great famine, followed with terrible pestilence; all which Luther did foresee and foretell, which came to pass immediately after his death; these strange things that have been in former ages, and in our last period, may be asserted that they were, but who can give an account how they were? but, because these things are above the reach, and cannot be comprehended by the old Socinian and Simsonian god of refined reason, that is capable to understand all things needful to be known, lately started up in Scotland; brutish fools, that neither understand nor believe what they say, nor whereof they affirm. What can the midnight dim light of nature understand of divine revelations, without divine illumination? The preaching of Christ and him crucified, and salvation alone in his name, was a stumbling block to the wise Jews, and foolishness to the learned Greeks; but the wisdom of God, and the power of God, to every one to whom it was given to believe. But, that which the learned criticks, and head-strong wits of young minis-

ters and expectants quarrel most, and have upbraided me to my face for, is, that seventh apparition at the Cross-foord boat, in the months of June and July in the 1686, two miles beneath Lanert; in which I say, I was there three days together and saw nothing, which is all matter of fact, and the naked verity, which I am only ambitious of in all my relations; but will these wild ass-colts tell me, what stopped the eyes of the long clear-sighted Balaam, that saw a star to arise out of Jacob, a clear prophecy of the coming of the Messiah, and yet saw not the angel standing with a drawn sword in his hand, and his dull ass saw him, and stopt three times? and what stopped the eyes of the men that were with Daniel at the river Hiddekel, when he saw the vision, but they saw it not, but greatly quaked? and what stopped the ears of Paul's companions in wickedness, going the devil's errand to Damascus, that saw the light and made them fall to the ground, but heard not the words of the voice that spake to him? and what stopt the ears and eyes of the captain of the castle of Edinburgh, who was alarmed three times at night, while the centinels were with him, but when they were sent off, he both saw and heard the different beating of drums, both English and Scots, in that strange apparition in the year 1650, before the English came to it?

A fifth reflection was sent to me in a malicious, slanderous, foolish letter, stuft with gross lies, dated June 24th, 1726, from a minister of this church, who hath got himself settled in a parish, by subtile policy, and cunning craftiness; mentioning our covenants, Pentland-hills, and Bothwel-bridge, which are now idle tales to the most part, to deceive the hearts of the simple; wherein, I am sure, he was either intoxicate or mad with wrath against me, or what I have published.

1st. He says, "that it is a base practice in me, and 'the devil's office, who is the accuser of the brethren, "for me to give such a relation of ministers."

Answ. It is the devil's office, first to tempt sin, and then accuse for it: how he or any other can instruct, that ever I tempt either by advice or example to any, of the many great and long defections, these 78 years

in Scotland, of all ranks, wherein the hand of the greater part of ministers hath been chief, first and last; and their's attended with aggravations beyond all others! But oh and alas! for the blindness of the most part of these called watchmen, that have neither sight of the many and great causes of wrath, nor sense of the effects and evidences of the Lord's hot anger appearing against us all this day, under which the nation is wasting, the church is sinking, and few laying it to heart, or enquiring what meaneth the heat of this great anger.

2nd. My calumniator minister, in that serpentine "letter, says, That he had seen a pitiful pamphlet signed by me; which, among other things, is famous "for a draught of Mr. Peden's notes upon the covenant of redemption; bearing, that it was made betwixt God the Father, and God-man the Son, which "is modern divinity."

Answ. This is no new sentiment or expression; that he is both God and man, in two distinct natures, and one person for ever, are the express words of our standards, and of our greatest and soundest divines; but this has a rank smell of damnable Arrianism, denying that God the son is self-existent and self-independent, that once overspread the world, and is now entering and spreading in the covenanted lands of Britian and Ireland, especially Scotland, where it was never heard of before. There are several other things in that letter, that I may take notice of, and lay in broad-band afterwards, being so much noise about it, by his vaunting of it; which will tend to his shame, if he were not above it.

The sixth and worst reflection is, professor Hamilton charged it publickly before the commission of the assembly with blasphemy, and none made him any answer; knowing his design was to divert them from insisting against Mr. Dunlap's published confession of faith. Upon what sentence or expression he founds blasphemy, I know not, if it be not upon that mistake in the press and 1st edition, of adding letter X in that word eternal, in his notes upon the covenant of redemption, which makes it run in a very bad sense;

other jurant ministers said, it was prejudice, for all might see, that it was neither the design of the author or publisher. This is a swatch how they lie at the catch, and snatch at every thing, that tends to their own hurt and others, and will make a man or men offenders, not only for a word but for a letter.

The 7th and last reflection that I take notice of at the time, is, I am charged with inconsistency with myself; that after I have spoken and written so much against the snare and sin of these hearty, willing, swearing ministers, that yet I hear some of them at publick occasions!

Answ. When I took a look with a dim eye of the height, depth, breadth, and length of the defection of these ministers, heartily and willingly swearing that bundle of intricate, implicate, multifarious and unnecessary oaths, with their sad and bad effects and consequences, whereby the two chief parts of the sworn to and sealed testimony, are heartily and willingly renounced and deserted, being imposed by the usurped and abjured authority of the lords spiritual and temporal upon the ministers of this church, and that as they are ministers under the same penalty with civil officers of state and military; Prelacy and Erastianism being the two chief things against which there have been so much wrestling, contending and resisting unto the blood of so many, these 158 years; I resolved, that either there should be a wonderful change of dispensations, or change upon them or me, ere ever I should designedly go to hear any of them; but, at the same time, I concluded, having given my publick mite of testimony, That if any of them came where I did not expect nor desired them, and if my consent had been sought, would have been far from giving it; at the same time, also I considered, that many worthy christians, who far every way outstrip me, that however grieved they were at these backsliding steps, yet they would not see them sufficient grounds of withdrawing: and many serious, gracious souls, out of the simplicity of their hearts should cleave to them; these things being no thought of heart to them, I would rather be denied to my profit and comfort, than direct or be stum-

bling to any of these! and I think all should be more sparing of scourging me so sore with tongues or pens, when I willingly allow every one to follow their own light, and stay or go, at these solemn occasions, as they have freedom, and be fully persuaded in their own minds; and that there should be a mutual forbearance one of another in these our melancholy none-such circumstances: doubting nothing but some of these have, do, and may get good of these Jurant ministers, (when I cannot) that preach Christ, and him crucified, and salvation alone in his name; as all will do, who have got a hearty smack of the sweetness of the gospel themselves, and gospel graces in exercise: but as for these climbing fleecers, whom God never sent, nor his people called; and these legal ministers, who seldom make mention of the blessed name of Jesus, even in their prayers and sermons, through whose blood alone we have redemption and forgiveness of all our sins; and when they do, to help the discourse, they speak it with such a breath as takes away the savour of it, and evidenceth that it is wersh in their mouths; and mix our vile works with his perfect, and patch his unspotted righteousness, with the filthy rags of ours, which quite mars the beauty, excellency, and usefulness of his admirable, and adorable doing and dying; and whoever are led in these ruining paths with such leaders, will certainly be destroyed. Andrew Harlay, in that malicious, slanderous, wicked pamphlet, stuft with gross lies, that he has signed and published against me, in name of the rest of that enthusiastick, Quakerish party: amongst other gross lies, says, "That I sat at a table when a swearing minister was serving it, and other people went off, and gave their testimony against them." This is not matter of fact; I never then had the occasion or tentation; or if it had been so, that I had been in a mistake, I own, I would not have risen, but betaken myself to another way of thinking at such a nick of time I wish from my very heart, that these few ministers whom the Lord hath kept in this hour of temptation that is come upon us to try us, which have made sad unexpected discoveries of the most part; whatever freedom they have for themselves to invite

these Jurants, with such foul hands, to their assistance at sacraments, to keep their justly sinking, stinking credit, that yet they would have respect to the stumbling, offence, and grieving of so many gracious souls throughout the land, who labour under manifold discouragements, and the ills and wrongs about these ministers the greatest; when they came from afar, to these publick occasions, to be in such straits, as not to know what to do, whether to stay or go: and these most of the Jurants that invite them; it is not love to them, or to what they deliver from the word of the Lord, but to whiten their black spots, and gather the people to them, whom they have given too just ground to forsake or withdraw from them, as many have, and all should do: it was far otherwise with our old godly, zealous ministers, who were very tender of discouraging or grieving godly christians, that came to their publick occasions, as is to be found in the 4th passage of Mr. Semple's life; and the singular Mr. John Livingstone at that last sacrament that he administered in Ancrum, served twelve or fourteen tables all with one breath, on this very account.

However a profane age may mock, and divided parties may disdain all my published relations, digressions and expressions, being all matter of fact, and the carnal Gallio's do count them old stories and idle tales: yet I know they have been and will be useful in informing, confirming and edifying to many gracious, zealous, and serious souls through the world, that have not heard, seen, nor been witness to what I have been, these forty-eight years past; and may be exciting and up-stirring to these two loudly called-for duties this day, at the hands of all the Lord's Israel. 1. Mourning, sighing and crying for Scotland's abominations of all kinds, past and present, these 78 years; for these and these only have ground to expect the benefit of the Lord's sanctuary, now when his moth-judgements, spiritual and temporal, are going through the breadth and length of the land. 2. For frequent and fervent prayer, that the Lord, in his rich mercy, free grace and pure love, would hasten over this winter, wherein he is scattering his hoar-frost, and casting forth his

morsels of ice; who can live in it's cold? And for his glory's sake, the elect's sake, would send a spring tide, spreading day of the light, purity, and power of the gospel, to the Jews and Gentiles, who are sitting in darkness and have no light; that they may be brought to trust in the name of the Lord; and a discovering day of the damnable delusions of Mahomet, errors of Antichrist, Arrians, Arminians, Socinians, Quakers, and gross errors abounding among the divided sectaries through the world, that the blind may no more lead the blind in such a thronging to the fearful pit; and that he would send a thaw-wind to the decayed face of christianity through all the churches called by his name; and that he would put a stop and stay to that bensil of backsliding, that hath been in Scotland these seventy-eight years, and rebuke a spirit of error, delusion, division, and confusion, that hath been raging even amongst his own people these forty-nine years, and cause these unclean spirits to pass out of the land; and pour down a convincing, converting, reforming, covenanting spirit again upon Britain and Ireland, that the serious exercise and solid practice of christianity, may yet again come in request: and that the Lord would raise and keep up a succession of faithful witnesses, whom he will fit, spirit, and direct to right methods and measures, in their earnest contendings for substance and circumstances of the sworn to and sealed testimony of this church, against Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, Sectarianism, Schism, Error, Tyranny, and Defection, and whatever is contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness, transmitted and handed down to us, by the vast expense of wrestlings, prayers, tears, innocent precious dear blood, blood of so many, for which they counted nothing too dear.

Christ's reigning, and his churches flourishing, is the only desirable thing in time to be longed for, and prayed for; these things have been, are, and I hope, shall be, the earnest desire of my soul, while I am upon the stage.

PATRICK WALKER.

SOME

REMARKABLE PASSAGES

OF THE

LIFE AND DEATH

OF

MR. JOHN SEMPLE,

Late minister of the Gospel at Carsphern in Galloway, (commonly called JOHN SEMPLE*:)*

Who died in the 72d year of his age.

MR. SEMPLE, by his singular piety, and exemplary walk, was had in such veneration, that all ranks and sorts of people stood more in awe of him than of many ministers; yea, he was a great check upon the lazy, corrupt part of the clergy, who were much afraid of him. Upon his coming from Carsphern to Sanquhar, which are 12 miles of a bad rough way, on a Monday's morning, after the sacrament of the Lord's supper had been administered there, the ministers in all haste got out of their beds to prevent his reproof; but he perceiving them putting on their clothes, said, 'What shall become of the sheep when the shepherd sleeps so long? In my way thither, I saw some shepherds upon the hills, looking after their flocks. The consideration of his age, and early journey after so many miles after his preaching the whole day at home, had great influence upon them, and made them much ashamed.

II. There were few parochial visitations that he heard of, or were within his reach, but he was at them for encouraging of laborious godly ministers, and censuring of such as were scandalous, even though he was not appointed: by his publick spirit he became a terror to all that were insufficiently lazy, and overawed them in such a manner, that all about him used more diligence in their publick ministerial work.

III. He was very painful and laborious amongst his own people, preaching frequently on week days, which is now nearly done in country places. The Lord's presence with him in preaching, catechising, and in the exercise of church discipline, reclaimed that people, who were scarcely civilized before: severals of whom became eminent christians, and were endued with the grace of prayer; of whom Mr. Peden used to say, 'That they had moyen at the court of heaven beyond many christian professors of religion he knew.'

IV. He sometimes had the Lord's supper administrate two Sabbaths together in the year, to which many godly people came from a great distance; of whose edification he was so tender, that the ministers who were countenanced by their Master's most gracious presence, were invited by him from remote places to feed God's children; he reckoned it no good policy to invite his easy brethren, as he called them, to be sharers of communion work, for supporting their justly sinking credit, or whitening their black spots, when they stumbled people. He several times said, 'That king's children should be waited upon by the best servants, they being most expert in what was most for the king's honour, and for the good of the bairns.' His slighting, as 'tis called, of some of his neighbouring brethren, was never resented by them, having that good effect, through the divine blessing, that some of them grew better men.

V. He was much given to secret prayer, and ordinarily prayed in the kirk before the sacramental occasions, because the kirk was more retired than the manse. He set apart the Friday for wrestling with his Master for his gracious presence on the communion Sabbath; and he being favoured with merciful

returns, to the great comfort of both ministers and people, he appointed a week day for thanksgiving to God.

VI. He used to wait very carefully upon church-judicatories, and very rarely was absent, and that from a principle of conscience; though Carsphern be twenty-four miles distant from Kirkcudbright, the Presbytery's seat, notwithstanding that much of the way is very bad. When he was going to the foord in the water of Dee, in his way to the Presbytery, he would not be hindered from riding the water, though he was told by some, that the water was unpassable, saying, 'I must go through, if the Lord will, I am going about his work:' he entered in, and the strength of the water carried him and his horse beneath the foord; he fell from his horse, and stood up in the water, and taking off his hat, prayed a word to this purpose, 'Lord, art thou in earnest to drown me, thy poor servant who would fain go thy errands?' after which, he and his horse got both safely out, to the admiration of all on lookers. He was never for sustaining of frivolous excuses in ministers, for their absence from church-judicatories; nothing would satisfy him as an excuse, but invincible hindrances, such as sickness, and unpassable waters, and the like.

VII. The grace of God inspired him with courage and boldness, so that he was afraid of no man,: he was as free with persons of quality, as with the poorest.

A certain nobleman from whose house he was going home, sent one of his rudest servants, well furnished with a good horse, broad-sword, and loaded pistols, to attack him after day-light was gone, in a desert place; ordered his servant to do all he could, to put him in a fright: accordingly the wicked servant surprised him, with holding a pistol to his breast, bidding him render his purse, upon pain of being shot dead immediately. He answered with much presence of mind, although he knew nothing of the preconcert, 'It seems you are a wicked man, who would take either my life or purse, it will not do you much service though you had it: and as for my life, I am willing to lay it down when and where God pleases;

however, if you will lay by your weapons, I will wrestle a fall with you for my life, which you cannot refuse if you be a man, for I have no weapons to fight you with.' In short, after many threats in vain, the servant at last discovered the whole plot, and asked Mr. Semple if he was not afraid at the first threatning. 'Not in the least,' said he, 'for although you had killed me, as I knew not but ye might, I was sure to win the sooner to heaven.' So they parted.

VIII Though he was a sharp reprover of all sorts of wickedness, in the highest as well as in the lowest; yet he was so convincingly a man of God, that the very wickedest, to whom he was a terror, had great kindness for him, and spake very favourably of him, as one that wished their souls well. When some persons of quality called him a varlet: another person of quality, whom he had often, and very sharply reproved for his wickedness, said, 'I am sure, if he is a varlet, he is one of God's varlets.' (The word varlet, signifies the vilest and worst of all creatures.)

IX. There was such a concern upon his spirits about Charles I that one time coming from Edinburg, with some others, betwixt Biggar and Culter, he lighted from his horse to pray for him; when he came up, some asked him what kept him behind? he said, 'I have been praying that the king might be delivered from Cromwell the usurper, his selfish and cruel designs; but I could not prevail.

X. Some Scots regiments in the year 1648, in their march through Carsphern for Prestoun, in England, to the duke's engagement (as it was called) some of his soldiers being informed, that the sacrament of the Lord's supper was to be administrated there the next Lord's day, went to Carsphern, and put their horses in the kirk, and went to the manse, and destroyed the communion-elements in a very profane manner. Mr. Semple being from home, the next day he complained to the commanding officer: in his complaint he represented the vileness of such an action so pathetically, that it made a great impression on the foresaid person, who not only regretted what had been done, but punished the most guilty, and gave money

liberally for furnishing the elements again. After which he said, with great concern of spirit, to the foresaid officer, 'I am sorry for the errand you are going, for you will not prosper, the profanity of the army will ruin you.' And all may see, that many were the complaints of the General Assembly, in their faithful warnings in these times, of the sins and snares of that unlawful engagement, and great wickedness of that army in going to invade England; their great profanity of the Sabbath, and abusing of women going and coming from ordinances, and many other ways.

XI. After this, preaching at Dumfries, some regiments of that army, being there, he said to the officers and soldiers, 'Go ye up to Ramoth-Gilead, and prosper: but if ye prosper in the way that ye are going, God never spake by me: for I have beheaded your duke like a sybow; if ye were once in England, his head shall as sure go off him, as if I had it in my gown lap; for God is not with you, and he will break you in his wrath: and many of you shall never see your native land again; and these of you that escape, however brave ye are now in your fine clothes; ye shall come home bare and naked, swarming with lice, for God shall smite you with one of the plagues of Egypt.' An old man who was one of them, told me, that he was sure this threatning was made out upon them, for they were like to be eaten up with a swarm of them. After sermon a colonel being his hearer, challenged him upon the street, for speaking against what was their duty and good design, to fight for king and country; and gave him ill names, calling him a varlet, and old greeting carl. To whom he answered, 'I am no more a varlet, than I have the saving grace of God, and that you are as free of, as the birch is of leaves at Yool even; and as to my preaching, I have told you the truth, which you will find to your sad experience, and many will see it to be no falsehood; for ye are neither for the good of the king nor country, but against God.

XII. After the news came to Carsphern, that the duke's army was near Prestoun, Mr. Semple being in company with several gentlemen, went out of their

company for about the space of an hour: when he returned, they asked him where he had been: he took up the lap of his night-gown, and said, 'I have gotten the duke's head, there ye will hear that the cavaliers are routed, and that their general will lose his head;' all which came to pass, as the history of these times declare.

XIII. When the news came that the usurper Cromwell and these with him, were trying Charles I. for his life, some asked Mr. Semple, what he thought would become of the king? he went to his closet a little, and coming again to them, he said, 'The king is gone, he is a dead man, he will neither do us good nor ill any more.' Which also was a truth.

XIV. Mr. Semple passing by the house of Kenmure, to which the masons were making some additions, he said, 'Lads, ye are very busy in enlarging and repairing that house, but it will be burnt like a crow-nest, in a misty May morning.' After he was gone, the masons told my lord, that Mr. Semple was gone by, and had spoken to them: he asked them what he said to them; they told his lordship as above: he said, Alas, it will be too true, if he said so: which accordingly came to pass, in a very dark misty May morning, by the English.

XV. Having foretold that some people, who were to be transported to Carolina in America, should never see it, and being misinformed that they were arrived there, he became melancholy and after sometime receiving the true account that they never reached Carolina, being forced by stormy contrary winds, he took off his hat before several gentlemen and others, when he was assured of their return, he said, with great joy, 'I thank my God, he never beguiled me yet.'

XVI. He often said to a person of quality (which was my Lord Kenmure) 'That he was a rough wicked man, for which God would shake him over hell before he died; yet God would give him his soul for a prey.' At last, it came to pass; for the said person was seized with great terror of conscience for his original guilt, and wicked vicious life, almost to the

height of utter dispair: yet God was so gracious to him before his death, that he not only relieved him from these terrors, but favoured him with the consolations of Christ: so that, to the conviction of all about him, he died well, and to the great joy and satisfaction of his relations.

XVII. One time hearing the old worthy Mr. Andrew Cant, sometime minister in Aberdeen, and his son Mr. Andrew Cant, preach in Edinburgh; after supper, being desired to pray in the family, he had these singular expressions anent their sermons, 'Lord we had a very good dish set before us this forenoon in a very homely dress; and in the afternoon, wholesome food, but in a very airy fine dress: Good Lord, pierce his heart with the compunction of a broken law, and fright him with the terror of the causes thereof; good Lord, brod him, and let the wind out of him, make him like his father, otherwise he will be a sad grief of heart to many:' as was sadly verified afterwards, he turning one of the prelatical curates in Edinburgh, which his honest old father always feared, and sometimes told him. One time, going a piece of way together, he was skipping before his father, he said, 'Souple Andrew, I fear that be thy fault all thy days, both in principle and practice.'

XVIII. When he visited his parish, he caused every head of a family pray after he had prayed, and exhorted every member of the family; this method of obliging heads of families to pray, before the minister and family, has been remarkably followed with success, although many now refuse it; but they were all so subject to him, that few positively refused, excepting one man, who was left of God to do far otherwise afterwards.

XIX. He had a singular custom of obliging every minister who lodged with him all night, to give some notes or observations upon the scripture read in the family; or, if there had been 3 or 4 ministers, every one of them to make their observes, according to their standing in the ministry: which was not only edifying to the family but useful to ministers, in that it was a tye upon them to be well versed in the bible, being a

sort of an extemporary lecture. Although this custom be generally out of request, yet it was looked upon as no small trial of ministers' ability. 'Tis said of a Scots minister who lectured without premeditation, on the ordinary of an honourable family in England, where were present several persons of distinction, to the conviction of some of the high-church party, who upbraided their curates with naughtiness, and insufficiency, to do the like. Some ministers practise this yet, which tends much to their honour, being very sure this is not enthusiastical impressions, as formalists and neutralists call it, but the fruit of much reading, and a distinct knowledge of the scriptures; an evidence of a good stock of divinity.

XX. He gave tokens to two youths, one of fourteen, the other sixteen years, that they might come to the Lord's table at Carsphern; before he gave them the tokens, he prayed for advice; (they being come from afar, some say from Fife) and after examination, he found them endued with a great measure of christian knowledge; but some ministers quarrelled his giving tokens to such boys; wherefore he desired these ministers to chatechise them, which the ministers did, and allowed of their admission to the Lord's table: and after communion, they gave satisfying accounts of their case, and proved solid christians; of whom Mr. Semple said to the rest of the ministers, 'These are God's bairns, and have more grace than many that are far older, and therefore I could not deny them God's food to their souls; they came from afar to meet with the Lord, whom they had heard to be sometimes remarkably present at Carsphern, and I hope they will not repent their journey. He dismissed the lads with encouraging exhortations, to be stedfast in the faith, and to make good use of their bibles.

XXI. When a neighbouring minister was distributing tokens before the sacrament, Mr. Semple standing by, and seeing the minister reaching a token to a woman, said, 'Hold your hand, that woman hath got too many tokens already, for she is a witch:' of which none suspected her then; yet afterwards she confessed herself to be a witch, and was put to death for the same.

XXII. A minister in the shire of Galloway, sending one of his elders with a letter, earnestly desiring Mr. Semple to come and assist him at the sacrament, three weeks before the time: he read his letter, and went to his closet a little, came back and said to the elder, 'I am sorry that you have come so far a needless errand; go home and tell your minister, he hath had all the communions that he will ever have; for he is guilty of fornication, and God will bring it to light before that time, by his own confession:' which came to pass as he had said: for that minister confessed the scandal before that time, and was justly deposed for the same.

XXIII. As Mr. Semple was going to Glasgow, he lodged in Crawford-John, in his way thither, on a Sabbath day: and being in the kirk in the forenoon, the minister seeing him, earnestly desired him to preach in the afternoon, which he utterly refused. In Sabbath's evening, being at family worship, when he prayed, he had these expressions, anent that minister, 'Good Lord, make these people quit of such a dead, lazy, insufficient minister, for they will never get good of him;' soon after that, that minister, of his own accord, left that place.

XXIV. He said of a young minister, that was thought to be very weak, and not much regarded, 'He will prove an honest man, and the longer he lives, he will grow more and more in gifts and grace: which was known to be truth: for that minister survived the persecution, and died in good repute, many years since the revolution.

XXV. He was preaching on repentance, and in his application he said, 'Except sinners repent, they will as surely perish, as the water is taking away the bridge of Douch;' at this very mean time, this bridge is said to have been two miles up the water from the kirk of Carsphern, and it was found, that a flood, by an excessive rain that day, took away that bridge, in the very instant he uttered these words.

XXVI. Another day, preaching upon justification, whether by faith or good works, he said, 'Come here, Bellarmine, let me hear what you say to this doctrine.

Bellarmine, 'tis by good works, O Bellarmine, Bellarmine, you speak always with a stinking breath; there is much of such poisonous, erroneous, and damnable doctrine, in your church and breast. But come here, Calvin, let us hear what you say? 'tis by faith, in the receiving and resting upon the Lord Jesus Christ alone for salvation. That is well said, John Calvin, you speak always with an honest, wholesome, sweet breath:—come, man, set your foot to my foot, and we shall hough Bellarmine.'

XXVII. Many know, that Carsphern is a place for pasturage: there had been some good years together, their flocks were increased, and they were coveting others' fields, which occasioned strife and contention among them. About the term of Martinmass, in the application of his sermon, he said, 'The Lord has been favouring you with good seasons, and ye are lifted up, and not thankful, and coveting others' fields; and there is strife and contention arisen among you, which is a great enemy to the exercise of grace, and a direct breach of the tenth command, and a great grief of heart to me; but keep in mind this day, (he mentioned the day of the month) and remember, that I told you, and advised you to take no more rooms at Martinmass, than ye will plenish at Whitsunday: ye that have a thousand sheep this day, shall not have an hundred then, and ye that have an hundred, shall not have ten.' That winter was somewhat of an universal death of sheep, but especially in that parish; for, ere the middle of May, there were few living sheep in that parish.

XXVIII. One time, among many, he designed to administrate the sacrament of the Lord's supper; and, before the time came, he assured the people of a great communion, by Christ's gracious presence, which should be most remarkable for the effusion of the Spirit; he told them also, that the devil would be so envious about the good work they were to go about, that he was afraid he would be permitted to raise a storm in the air with a speat of rain, to raise the waters, desingning to drown some of them; but it will not be within the compass of his power to drown any of you, no not so much as a dog: accordingly it came

pass, on Monday when they were dismissing, they saw a man all in black, entering the water to wade, a little above them; they were afraid, the water being big; immediately he lost his feet (as they apprehended) and came down lying on his back, and waving his hand: the people ran, and got ropes, and threw in to him; and though there were about ten or twelve men upon the ropes, they were in danger of being drowned into the water: Mr. Semple looking on, cried, 'Quit the ropes, and let him go, (he saw who it was) 'tis the devil, 'tis the devil; he will burn, but not drown: and, by drowning you, would have God dishonoured, because he hath gotten some glory to his free grace, in being kind to many of your souls at this time, and the wicked world to reproach the work of God. Oh! he is a subtile wylie devil, and lies at the catch, waiting his opportunity, that now, when ye have heard all, and gotten all ye will get at this occasion, his design is to raise a confusion amongst you, to get all out of your minds that ye have heard, and off your spirits that ye have felt.' He earnestly exhorted them all to keep in mind what they had heard and seen, and to retain what they had attained, and to go home blessing God for all, and that the devil was disappointed of his hellish design. All search was made in that country, to find out if any man was lost, but none could be heard of; from whence all concluded that it was the devil.

XXIX. At another time, designing to administrate the sacrament, the fast-day in the morning being an excessive rain, some of his elders came in to him, and said, 'The people would not be able to sit without;' he said, I'll go out with you: they went to the kirk; for some time, he walked up and down the kirk very melancholy, at last opened a little door that looked to the north, where he stood for some time; at last, with much cheerfulness, said, 'Out of the north cometh fair weather, we'll be no more troubled with rain, until this solemn occasion be over: but tell your friends to be in readiness, and go quickly off, and take good heed to themselves in waters, for the rain will be excessive then.' Which accordingly came to pass in every jot.

XXX. At another time administrating the sacrament, after the forenoon's work was over, Elizabeth Borsane, Mr. James Renwick's mother, that singular christian, told me this, with many other of these passages. Her husband and she commonly were at all his publick fasts and solemn occasions; she knew not where to get any retired place to go to, there being such a great multitude, and the greater part of them gone alone; being some dissle of rain in the time, she went in to a quiet place in the kirk; a minister's daughter came in to her, comparing notes together, how it had been with them at that occasion, especially that forenoon. Some of the common hearers came in to the body of the kirk, and raised a noise of shouting and clapping their hands: which occasioned others to come in, and join with them in that confused noise; the ministers in the manse got notice, and came in haste to the kirk, and spoke to them, but in vain. Mr. Semple's servant ran to some place where he knew his master frequented; he came in haste, and when he entered the kirk, he cried, 'O ye subtile wylie devil, that lies alway at the catch, begone, begone out of this house; I thought I had fenced this house in his name; ye have neither art nor part with us; his broken body and shed blood, was never broken nor shed for you, but are eternally excluded; begone, begone. Immediately they ceased.' Elizabeth Corsane, and the other gentlewomen were greatly affrighted; but they sat still, without opening their mouth. Mr. Semple, and others of the ministers that were there, examined some of these people, what moved them to make the noise; but they could give no account.

XXXI. A gentleman in a neighbouring parish, who frequented his kirk much, and frequently took home some of his parishioners to sup with him, and detained them too long drinking, and with idle discourse; Mr. Semple got notice, and went to him, and said, 'Sir, I am come to tell you, that God is very angry with you for profaning his Sabbath, and enticing some of my people to do the same;' and earnestly exhorted him to forbear any such practice, or else it would fare the worse with him. Accordingly, for some time, he re-

frained, but returned again to his former practice. Mr. Semple went to his house, but would not enter his door, and said to him, 'I hear you are returned with the dog to his vomit again, and within a few days you shall not have a cock to crow day.' Accordingly, in a short time, he was cast into prison for debt, and arrestments cast upon him, his effects seized upon and disposed of, which obliged him to engage in the military. Some time thereafter he got orders to apprehend Mr. Semple; he intreated to excuse him, for Mr. Semple was the minister and man he would not meddle with; for he was sure, if he did that, some terrible mischief would befall him. Mr. Arthur Coupar, who was Mr. Semple's precentor, told these passages to a reverend minister in the church, yet alive, worthy of all credit, who told me.

XXXII. He was so concerned for the right managing of the publick worship of God, that he could not endure any thing that looked like carelessness and unconcernedness about it, such as sleeping or rambling looks in the time of it, or what gave any disturbance, such as fighting of dogs in the church, or the like; he took very wise methods for preventing of these evils, so that few durst either sleep or look about them, or bring dogs to the kirk.

XXXIII. He had a very heavenly melodious sound in giving out, or raising of a psalm; which was so affecting to his hearers, that many of them said, It helped them to a serious frame: and that his voice in singing a psalm, though not very loud, was so peculiar to himself, that they never heard any to exceed him.

XXXIV. After the unhappy restoration and establishing of prelacy, his zeal was so great and flaming against bishops and their underlings, that wherever he was, and whoever were his hearers, great or small, he could never read or explain any portion of scripture, but he found bishops and their underlings, and somewhat in it against them; even in the beginning of Genesis, the account of the whole creation, but not one word that God created bishops, (as such) and from that he inferred they were none of God's creatures. This he spoke in that friendly house at Duddistoun, where he resided much at that time.

XXXV. A little before his death he was apprehended, and after nine months' imprisonment in the castle of Edinburgh, was taken before the council for his nonconformity; they threatened him severely with death or banishment; he answered with boldness, 'He is above that guides the gully, my God will not let you either kill me or banish me, but I will go home and die in peace, and my dust lie among the dust of the bodies of my people.' Accordingly the council dismissed him.

XXXVI. After this, he went home, and entered his pulpit; he said, 'I parted o'er easily with thee, which has been many a sore heart to me; but I shall hing by the wicks of thee now.' And on his death-bed, his zeal and concernedness for the salvation of his people was such, that he sent for them and preached to them, freely shewing them what danger their souls were in by reason of their unbelief and estrangement from the power of godliness; laying before them their manifold sins; to make them sensible of their need of Christ, expressing his great sorrow to leave many of them graceless as he found them, and his great fears that he would give up his accounts, as to many of them, with grief. Which words were so accompanied with power, that made many of them to weep bitterly; which would be a wonder in this hardened and obdured age, and mocked at, as only the effects of a silly waterish constitution, as if all the tempers of the saints were flashy, such as David and Peter, yea, and Christ himself in whose constitution was nothing defective, who did frequently weep. However, Mr. Semple's weepers were not all of the flashy kind, for many of them proved solid christians, and lived to acquit themselves like men and christians on proper occasions.

XXXVII. He died with much assurance of heaven, and longed to be there, rejoicing in the God of his salvation; and under great impressions of dreadful judgments to come upon these covenanted lands, especially on Scotland, and the West and South thereof, above all other places, by the bloody sword of Papists, and others taking part with them; repeating these words three times over, A BLOODY SWORD FOR SCOTLAND.

He was buried in the church-yard of Carsphern, and it is said his grave is known there to this day.

P S. The worthy author of the foresaid passages, whose piety and zeal was such against wickedness and wicked persons, that made him frequently express himself fervently, after the unhappy restoration, complaining, That all ranks were growing worse and worse; but, as for our nobility and gentry, he thought the devil was run away with the greater part of them. At other times he said, Would they know what the devil was doing in hell? he said, He was going with a long rod in his hand, crying, 'Make way and room; for the king, council and bishops, and the rest of the persecuters in Scotland were coming posting here, and few of them would turn back.' These, and such like expressions, made him despised in the eyes of the godless and wicked crew, both in his life, and since his death. The mocking, lying atheist, the author of the *Presbyterian Eloquence*, to this purpose, says, That in the day of judgment, the Lord will say, 'Who's that there?' John Semple will answer, 'It's e'en poor old John Semple, Lord.' 'Who's that with you, John?' John would say, 'It's a few poor honest bonneted men.' 'Strange, John, where's all your great folk with their hats and silk hoods?' 'I invited them, Lord, but they would not come.' 'It's not your fault, John; come forward, ye are very welcome, and these few with you.'

I am at a loss, that I could not give a distinct account, though I have enquired at many, how long he was minister in that parish, nor what year he died after the restoration.

The copy of a letter written in the year 1665, by Mr. James Welwood, minister of the gospel at Tindergirth in Annadale, to a brother minister.

LET us put on courage in thir sad times; brave times for the chosen soldiers of Jesus Christ, to shew their courage into; brave times, offering brave opportunities for shewing forth the bravity of spirit, in suffering; that love, that loyalty, meekness, that patience, and every christian virtue, that cannot be shown forth in not suffering times. Let us live in a lively hope of a glorious victory over these enemies, risen up of late, whom Christ shall very shortly tread under foot: Let us look for a return of the many fervent prayers of the many thousands of the godly in these lands which will be by terrible things in righteousness, terrible judgments poured forth in haill vials upon the heads of the enemies. Let us look for a glorious church to spring out of these trials and troubles, which the greater they shall be and of the longer continuance, the more glorious shall the church be. Let us enter into our chambers, and shut the doors about us, until the indignation be overpassed, that is to be upon this land: great is the indignation, dreadful are the judgments that are coming upon this land; I tremble to think upon them, and yet I cannot tell you: for as feared as I am for them, I am not deprecating them but desiring rather they may come, and convince the land of the horridness of these sins now reigning into it, which are counted but light sins by some, and no sins by other some, and gloried in, as high virtues and duties by many; and that they may convince the land, of the innocency and equity of the cause and covenant of God, condemned of great iniquity, as the cause of all the troubles that have come upon the land; and that they may put an end to these sins, that will never be at an end, but will grow daily more and more, to a monstrous height and hugeness, till judgments put an end to them, and the committers of

them. And Oh that God would consume out of the land, the great consumers of the land, and would send pests among the pests of the land, and would send blood among the bloody men of the land, and set every one against another: Oh that our dreadful judgments, that reach to the soul were turned into those that but reach the body; and that we were exceeding miserable in our temporal condition, rather than so lost and forlorn in our spiritual! Oh that the great furnace were set up, that is to be set up in this land, when the little furnace is taken down! it is but the little furnace that is presently set up, pretty hot, and to be much hotter in a little time, by the high commission; and it is for the godly only to purge them and try them: and many are warming themselves at this furnace, and many are playing and dancing about it, especially the lowns of the ministry; but it is to be taken down shortly, when it hath come to its hottest; and then the great furnace will be set up in the place of it exceeding hot, whereat no man shall warm himself, or dance about it but all shall be put into it; especially, the lowns of the ministry; that warmed themselves at the little furnace, and danced about it, while they saw their poor brethren burning into it. The godly themselves shall not altogether pass free of this furnace, but shall pass through it; howbeit, but lightly, to be purged over again from the remainder of that dross and tin which the little furnace did not purge out of them. The ungodly shall all of them be casten into it, in great heaps, that they may be consumed: 'till a few that should come out again, after a huge number are consumed, and those that remain of them unconsumed, but very ill burnt, as brands plucked out of the fire, shall join themselves to the godly, some of them by flatteries, some of them sincerely, well wrought upon by the judgments: and when the godly shall be purged, and made ripe for the great and glorious deliverance, and capable to bear it without abusing it, then shall be the glorious days of the gospel in these lands, which the servants of God have spoken of, that were upon his counsel, and knew his

thoughts towards the church of Scotland; then shall this great captivity return in one day almost; then shall our banished brethren return. They shall return to Sion with singing; and all the trees of the fields shall clap their hands, and the hills shall break forth before them into singing. Brother, ye do well in biding close by your charge, and keeping yourself quiet: to be silent in their times, as far as may be without sin, is a great point of prudence. Your very loving brother, whom ye know. Let not this letter be seen, nor known from whence it is, because of some things in it that may seem hard. My wife sends her hearty commendations to you and the two lads.

The author of the foregoing letter was a minister of singular piety and great zeal; many evidences of both are given of him: I shall at the time insert only one remarkable passage, viz. That the night his wife died, he spent the whole ensuing night in prayer and meditation in his garden; the next morning one of his elders coming to visit him, and lamenting his great loss, and want of rest; he replied, I declare, I have not all this night had one thought of the death of my wife, I have been so taken up in meditating on heavenly things; I have been this night upon the banks of Ulai, plucking an apple here and there.

SOME

REMARKABLE PASSAGES,

OF THE

LIFE AND DEATH

OF

MR. JAMES WELWOOD,

LATE MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL:

Who died at Perth, in the year 1769, *in the month of April, about the* 30*th Year of his age.*

THE worthy author of the above sententious letter, had three sons that I have heard of; one Mr. Andrew, who is the author of the *Glimpse of Glory*, lately published; and another, who is a doctor of physick at London; but it is Mr. James Welwood I now speak of, whose singular piety, and flame of love and zeal, the world hath heard of; which I dare not, neither can bury in forgetfulness, these few rare following instances both in his life and death, having had them from sure hands well attested, although I do not publish their names. As, *First*,

I am indeed somewhat lame, being forty eight years since his death, that I cannot give an account when, where, or by whom he was ordained; only it is certain, it was by some of our persecuted Presbyterian ministers. Some have many of his letters that he sent to some of his intimate Christian friends, wherein he insists much up-

on the distinct actings of faith and love, spirituality and zeal. I never saw nor heard any of his sermons published, save one that he preached at Bogle's-hole in Clidsdale, upon that text—'If the righteous scarcely be saved,' &c.

Secondly, 'Tis said by some in Annandale, that he preached six sermons in Tindergirth, formerly his father's parish, blessed with more discernible good effects, than all the diligent painfulness and faithfulness that his father exercised in the ministry these six years he was minister in that parish. Further,

Thirdly, He was a fervent presser to all the duties of christianity, and in particular to the setting up and keeping up of society meetings for prayer and conference, wherein the souls of many have been refreshed; and frequented them much himself: particularly, one night, at the New-house, in Livingstoun parish; when the night was far spent, he said, ''Tis good loosing a going plough, let one pray, and be short, that we may win to our apartments, before it be light, that we be not seen. It was the turn of one who exceeded many in gifts; but, before he ended, it was as light within the house as without. He said 'James, James, your gifts have the heels of your grace.' And to the rest he said, 'Be advised all of you not to follow James at all times, and in all things; otherwise there will be outs and inns in the track of your walk.' When most of them were gone, he said, 'What was he, that ye were all in such haste to get him a seat? Some answered, 'He is a very honest useful man,' He said, 'He's a round-spun presbyterian; he will not long keep that name among you; his house will be rather a court-house and prison house, than a friend's house;' which sadly came to pass afterwards, as is known to many: one John Hasty a weaver, who was obliged to make himself a seat in the peat-nook, afterwards when he enquired for his aquaintances in that bounds, he frequently said, 'And how is the honest man that sat in the peat-nook? he's worth half a dozen of some that were at that meeting.

Fourthly, In the year 1677, there was an Erastian meeting of ministers, of the actually indulged, and not

indulged, kept at Edinburgh, procured by the indulged and their favourites, in order to get union made up and kept up, or rather a conspiracy peace without truth, unity without verity; an holding evidence of false prophets and back-sliders. The godly Mr. John Blackadder said in this meeting, 'Before ye come to any conclusion, let us set days apart, and humble ourselves before the Lord for our manifold provocations and defections, especially in deep compliance with Erastianism. They cried out, 'Divisive, divisive; let us unite, let us unite.' The famous M'Ward's contendings are very plain about this unhappy meeting, now published to the world. Mr. Welwood, Mr. Cameron, and a third, but who the third was, I cannot give an account, if it was not the faithful unto the death, Mr. John Kid, were called before this meeting, in order to get them deposed, and the act of license taken from Mr. Cameron, for their faithfulness in preaching separation from the actually indulged, to make them publick examples to terrify others; but they declined them as a lawfully constituted and qualified judicatory, being made up of actually indulged. The north country Mr. Thomas Hog, as he was commonly called, being in town at that time, but would not meet with them; some of the ministers went to him for advice what to do with them: he said, 'His name is Welwood, but if ye take that unhappy course to depose them, they will turn Thorterwood.'

Fifthly, Mr. Welwood was a man always of a lean tender body; he slept, eat or drank little, being always under deep exercise about his state and case, and a great concern upon his spirit with the tyranny and defections of that day, especially of the indulged, and so many others pleading in their favours; but after this meeting, he turned more and more melancholy and tender.

Sixthly, Among his last publick days in preaching the gospel, he preached one Sabbath at the Boulter-hall in Fife, not far from St. Andrews, upon that text, 'Not many noble,' &c. He wished that all the Lord's people, whom he had placed in stations of distinction there and every where, would express their great

thankfulness that that word, Not many, was not, Not any, that the whole of them was not excluded. In the end of that sermon, he said, (pointing to St. Andrews) 'If that unhappy prelate Sharp, die the death of all men, God never spake by me.' The Bishop at that time had a man servant, who asked his liberty upon Saturday's night to go and visit his brother, who was servant to a gentleman near that Boulter-hall: the bishop ordered him to be home on the Sabbath evening. He went with the Laird and his brother to hear sermon that day. Mr. Welwood noticed him with the bishop's livery upon him: when sermons were ended, he desired him to stand up, for he had somewhat to speak to him; 'I desire you,' said he, 'and lay it upon you, before all these witnesses, that when ye go home, ye'll tell your master from me, that his treachery, tyranny and wicked life is now near an end, and his death shall be both sudden, surprising and bloody; as he had thirsted and shed the blood of many saints, he shall not go to his grave in peace, and that shall be in the beginning of May next.' The youth went home, and at supper, the bishop asked, if he had been at a conventicle; he said, he was: he asked what his text was, and what he said? the lad told him several things, 'But,' said he, 'my lord, there is one thing he laid upon me before all the multitude, that I should tell your grace, that your treachery, tyranny and wicked life, was now near an end; and your death shall be both sudden, surprising and bloody; as ye've been bloodthirsty, and shed the blood of many saints, ye should not go to your grave in peace; and that shall be in the beginning of May next.' The bishop made sport of it: his wife said, 'I advise you to take more notice of that, for I hear that these men's words are not vain words.' And 'tis said, that in the beginning of May, his wife spoke of it to him, and desired him to stay at home. Some yet alive, who were witnesses to Mr. Welwood's saying that day, and saw the exact accomplishment of it upon the third day of May, told it to a minister, and others of my acquaintance, worthy of all credit, who gave me this account. The extraordinary death of this monster of wickedness of many sorts and

kinds, was foreseen and foretold by severals, long before it came to pass. It is said that the famous and faithful unto the death, Mr. James Guthry, when he was regent to the college of St. Andrews, and Mr. Sharp, a promising young man there, several times wrote that verse upon him,

> If thou, Sharp, die the common death of men,
> I'll burn my bill, and throw away my pen.

And there's an old honest man, one Stephen Porteous, yet alive at Edinburgh, told me, When he was at London, banished in the year 1678, with Mr. Peden and others, a godly old minister in Wapping near London, called Mr. Rydder, invited him and others of these banished prisoners, to dine with him: he desired them, in the time thereof, to give him a short account of the persecution in Scotland, especially of prelate Sharp's active hand therein: which they did. After dinner, he went to his closet; when he returned, he said 'He was astonished at the account they had given him of prelate Sharp's treachery and tyranny; but God had assured him, that he would raise up some Norman Lesly in Scotland, to execute justice upon him as upon cardinal Beatton, and his wicked life was now near end.' This he spoke within two months before it came to pass. Some time ago I wrote a short account of the unheard of wicked steps of his life, particularly his strangling his own child (begot in fornication) with his napkin, and burying it below the hearth-stone, and his cruel treacherous treatment of the mother thereof; but his life and death being now published by a more large and sure hand, has prevented me, which I am glad of. Great Mr. Rutherford, of whom apostate Sharp was a malicious persecutor, said, 'When ministers and others were admiring him for goodness, he would trample upon all their necks. I have often wondered if ever the sun shined upon a man guilty of so many dreadful unheard of acts of wickedness, attended with all aggravating circumstances to make them prodigiously heinous, except his dear brother Judas, who murdered the

young prince of Iscariot, and his own father, married his mother and betrayed his Lord. All knows what end he made, and so much noise of his death, making it one of their ensnaring criminal questions of that time, for which five faithful martyrs were executed, and hung in chains, in that spot of ground, Magus-Muir, the 25th of November 1679, who were actually free of his death, having never been in the shire of Fife, as is to be seen in Naphtali.

Seventhly, One Sabbath, among his last public days, a tent was set up for him; the laird of that ground caused lift it, and set it upon another laird's ground: when Mr Welwood saw it, he said, 'In a short time that laird shall not have a furr of land.' Some quarrelled him for this saying, that laird being then a great professor: he said 'Let alone a little, he will appear in his own colours.' Shortly thereafter he fell in adultery, and became miserable and contemptible, and was said by many, to be one of York's four pound the week papists.

Eighthly, In the beginning of the year 1679, he said to William Nicolson, a Fife-man, 'Ye shall have a brave summer of the gospel this year; and, for further encouragement, there would be an old man or woman, that might not live for age, to see the bishops down, but the church not delivered; but ere all be done, ye will get few faithful ministers in all Scotland to hear: but keep you ay among the poor mourning remnant that is for God; for, there is a cloud coming on the church of Scotland, the like of which was never heard, for the most part will turn to defection: but I see on the other side of it, the church's delivery, with ministers and christians, that we would think shame to open our mouths before them.'

Ninthly, He went to Perth about three months before he died; he was now, through bodily weakness, laid aside from serving his Master in publick: he lingered under a consumptive distemper 'till the beginning of April, 1679, when he died. He lodged all the time in the house of John Barclay, an honest man; and while he was able to speak, he laid out himself to do good to souls. None but such as were looked up-

on to be friends to persecuted truths, knew that he was in town; and his practice was to call them in, one family after another, at different times, and to discourse them about their spiritual state. His conversation was both convincing, edifying and confirming; many reaped much spiritual good during the time of his sickness, and continued thus to preach Christ while he was able to speak: many came to visit him during the time of his sickness, and among the rest, Andrew Atton younger of Inchdarny in Fife, about eighteen years of age, a promising youth, who grew and ran fast, his time being short, giving Mr. Welwood further accounts of the great tyranny and wickedness of prelate Sharp. Mr Welwood said, 'You'll shortly be quit of him, and he'll get a sudden and sharp off-going, and ye will be the first that will take the good news of his death to heaven.' Accordingly upon May the third, which was upon a Saturday, when he was killed, Inchdarny knowing nothing of it, and hearing of no sermon near hand upon Sabbath, he was riding with a design to go to a friend's house that night, where he might have occasion of hearing a sermon to-morrow; enemies raging and riding for the killers, came in his way, fearing that they were seeking him, he fled, and they fired upon him, and wounded him so deadly, that he died the next day.

Tenthly, About the same time, he said to another friend, who came to visit him, 1. That many of the Lord's people should be in arms that summer, for the defence of the gospel; but he was fully persuaded they should work no deliverance, but God should take a testimony off their hands. 2. After the breaking of that party, the publick standard of the gospel should fall, and be buried for a time. 3. After that, there should not be a minister in Scotland, that they could hear or converse with, anent the case of the church, except two, and they should seal the testimony with their blood. 4. After that, there shall be a dreadful apostacy and defection. 5. God will pour out his wrath upon the enemies of his church and people. 6. That many of the Lord's people should die in the common calamity, especially these who have made

defection from the way of the Lord. 7. He was persuaded that the stroke should not be long; and upon the back of that, there should be the most glorious delivery and reformation that ever was in Britain. 8 That this church should never more be troubled with prelacy.

Eleventhly, In his conversation with his friends upon his death-bed, he used very freely to communicate his own exercise and experience, and of the assurance he had obtained of his interest in Christ. He told them, He had no more doubt of his interest in Christ, than if he was in heaven already. At another time he told them, He had been for some weeks without sensible comforting presence, yet he had not the least doubt of his interest in Christ: he had often endeavoured to pick a hole in his interest, but could not get it done. That morning that he died, when he observed the light of the day, he said, 'Now eternal light, no more light or darkness to me.' No more of his last words are remembered.

Twelfthly, The night after he died, his corpse were removed from John Barclay's house, into a chamber, where one Janet Hutton, an eminent christian, lived alone, till his friends would consult about his burial, as much as might be, to keep off trouble from John Barclay and his family: it was quickly noised through the town, that an intercommun'd preacher was dead in the place; upon which, the magistrates ordered a messenger to go and arrest his corpse. They lay the second night in Janet Hutton's; and the next day, a considerable number of his Fife friends came to town, in good order. The magistrates would not allow his corpse to be interred in the burial place of Perth, alledging, That his friends would insult them: they ordered the town militia to be raised; John Brice, at the time boxmaster to the gildry, had the militia arms in custody; he refused to give them out, and boldly told the magistrates, he saw no use that they had for them; for which he was cast into prison. This honest man was (after the revolution) baillie in Perth. The magistrates allowed his Fife friends to carry his corpse out of the town, and bury them where they pleased,

without their precincts; but, any town's people that they observed accompany the funerals, they caused apprehend them, and commit them to prison: after they were gone out of the town, friends sent two honest men before them to Drone, four miles from Perth, to prepare a grave in that church-yard; the two men went to Mr. Pitcairn's, minister there, one of the old plagued resolutioners, (one of these men is yet alive, who informs this) and desired from him the keys of the church-yard, that they might dig a grave for Mr. Welwood's corps; he refused to give them: the honest men went over the church-yard dike, and digged the grave, where the corpse was interred. Thus the church-yard of Drone is honoured with the precious dust of that faithful preacher of the gospel. This is another lasting witness of the tyranny and cruelty of that day, upon the living bodies and dead corpses of the Lord's people; they would not suffer them to live upon the earth, nor go and lie beneath the earth: witness their lifting of Mr. Peden's corpse after forty days in the grave; and fixing many heads, hands, and other parts of their bodies, divided in quarters, upon publick ports; and hanging in chains, November 27th, 1679, the five innocent martyrs at Magus-muir, (where that compend of wickedness, bishop Sharp, got his just deservings) and murdering of John Wharry, and James Smith, who were my very near acquaintances, at Glasgow cross, June 11th, 1683, laying their dead bodies on a cart, driving them upwards of six miles to Inchberry bridge, hanging their naked bodies, as they were born, in chains, to be gazing-stocks to the world.

SOME

REMARKABLE PASSAGES

OF THE

LIFE AND DEATH

OF

MR. RICHARD CAMERON,

LATE MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL:

Who was killed at Airdsmoss, and other eight private Christians with him, in the Year 1680, *the 22nd of July, whose Dust lies there.*

HE was born in Falkland in Fife, his father was a merchant there. After he had passed his courses of learning, he was a schoolmaster and precentor to the curate in Falkland, and sometimes heard the indulged. At length, he went to hear the persecuted gospel in the fields. In that sun-blink day of power when the net of the gospel was let down at the right side of the ship, then a great draught of perishing souls was effectually caught; and it natively follows, That whom the Lord savingly enlightens to see sin, and the sinfulnsss thereof and their lost state thereby, as the worthy Mr. George Mair said to myself. When he went to the north to preach Christ, he never touched the sin of prelacy, nor any of the rest of our national abominations. For, if the Lord were pleased to bless any word that came out

of his mouth, to the thorow conviction and conversion of any poor perishing soul, all these would come in their own time. It was that which made Mr. Cameron leave Falkland, and came to sir William Scot of Harden, to see their chaplain; but his refusing to go with them to hear the indulged, for which he gave his reasons, this made him unacceptable to him and his lady. He came south, and was sometime in company with Mr. Welsh, and other field ministers. Mr. Welsh perceived that he was not only exercised unto godliness, but had his own share of gifts and learning. Mr. Welsh and others pressed him to undergo his trial before them, in order to get an act of license to preach the gospel. For some time he refused, but after much intreaty he was prevailed with. Accordingly he got his license from Mr. Welsh, and Mr. Gabriel Semple and others, at Haugh-head in Teviotdale, at Henry Hail's house. He told them, he would be a bone of contention amongst them: for if ever he preached against a national sin in Scotland, it should be against the indulgence, and separation from the indulged. This account he gave of himself to some friends, a little before his death.

II. The first place they sent him to, to preach, was Annandale: he said, how could he go there, for he knew not what sort of people they were? Mr. Welsh said, 'Go your way, Ritchie, set the fire of hell to their tail.' The first day he preached upon that text, 'How shall I put thee among the children?' in the application, he said, 'Put you among the children, the offspring of robbers and thieves? Many have heard of Annandale thieves:' Some of them, who got a merciful cast that day, told it afterwards, that it was the first field-preaching that ever they heard; and that they went out of curiosity, to see how a minister would preach in atent, and people sit on the ground; but if many of them went without an errand, they got one that day. After this he preached several times with Mr. Welsh, Mr. Semple and others; and no noise about him, until 1677, that he and others were called before that unhappy Erastian meeting in Edinburgh, of indulged and not indulged.

III. He preached several times at Maybole, where were many thousands of people, being the first time that the sacrament of the Lord's supper was dispensed in the open fields: at that time he used yet more freedom, for which he was again called at a meeting of ministers at Dindough in Galloway. After that he was again called before a presbytery at Sundewal in Durscore in Nithsdale: this is the third time they designed to take his act of license from him; against which Robert Gray a Northumberland man, who suffered in the grass market, May 19, 1682, Robert Neilson and others who were my very dear acquaintances, protested. Robert Gray mentions this protest in his last testimony, says he was the only instrument of confirming him in the faith. At this meeting, they prevailed with Mr. Cameron to give his promise for a short set-time to forbear such explicit preaching against the indulgence, and separation from the indulged, which lay heavy upon him afterwards; which I shall touch, if the Lord will. And it was not these that sat in the presbytery that so prevailed with him; but others, who would not sit with them upon that design, who pretended to be as much against the indulged men as he was, who overcame him. The lamentable parallel case we had in Scotland these years bygone. All know what a fleece went off, in the year 1712, to the embracing of that bundle of unhappy oaths, flowing from that same poisonable fountain of Erastianism, and the prelatical hierarchy (both abjured by solemn oaths before the Lord) that the indulgence flowed from. Many, though they refused them in the year 1712, yet were gaping after them, some of which could thrust down the cow (to wit, that bundle of oaths) but the tail fluck in their throats, viz. Of taking these oaths heartily and willingly; who, very Balaam-like, with bocking and gaping, with upstretched and outstretched necks, and watry eyes, with their wives and other pretended friends, by unhappy advices, chapping hard upon their backs to help them down with the tail: and when they got all over, they went off in twos and threes at different times, some of whose names I could mention, like per-

sons ashamed doing an ill turn, not heartily and willingly as they all swear at the end of these oaths; and then, in the 1719, there was a softning, soupling, sweetning oil, composed and made up by the cunning art of carnal wit, and state policy; then all went over with ease, and yet nothing but an old tout in a new horn. What a mercy had it been to many, that all these classes of the indulged and our late swearers had all gone off in a full body together? it is possible, that the few not-swearers, who have refused them upon their peril, which is some sort of a testimony against them, would have taken other methods in keeping up a more active testimony against them, in refusing to join with them on fast-days, without these broad and deep oaths of defection had been among the chief causes of fasts: and in mixing and joining with them in the administration of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, thereby helping them to stifle their convictions, and hardning them in their defections, to the great stumbling and offence of many serious, tender, zealous souls, thorow the land; some travelling 40 or 50 miles, spending their time, wearying their bodies, and neglecting their necessary duties, when they may have the same very way at home, and take rest to their bodies, when they cannot expect edification to their souls. Far be it from me to limit the Holy One, or determine what the Lord may do in the acts of his sovereignty to particular persons; but if ever these legal formal preachers shall be helped to be the instruments of conviction and conversion, and swearers of the lately imposed oaths be honoured to be national reformation-workers, unless they get a cast by common, then I am under the power of a strong delusion.

IV. After the giving of that weary promise, finding himself bound up by the virtue thereof from declaring the whole counsel of God, he turned melancholy; and and to get the definite time of that unhappy promise spent, in the end of 1678, he went to Holland, not knowing what work the Lord had to do with him there, and to converse with Mr. M'Ward, and others of our banished worthies, where he was in the time of that

lamentable stroke at Bothwel-bridge, when the Lord's people fell and fled before these devouring enemies. His private converse and exercises in families, but especially his publick in the Scots kirk of Rotterdam, were very refreshing to many souls, where he was close upon conversion, from that text, 'Come unto me, all ye that are weary,' &c. and most satisfying and delightsome to Mr. Brown, M'Ward and others, who were sadly misinformed by the indulged and lukewarm, that he could preach nothing, but babble against the indulgence and cesspaying; but there he touched none of these, except in prayer, lamenting over the lamentable case of Scotland, by tyranny and defections. Shortly thereafter there was an indemnity proclaimed, with the grant of a third indulgence, with the cautionary bond, for every parish to call what minister they pleased, binding themselves, that what minister they called, should walk orderly, and live peaceably, and deliver them up when called for, under the penalty of six thousand merks. Which famous Mr. Brown, then in Holland, wrote against, discovering the snare and sin of this bargaining with the enemy, called, the banders disbanded; which book is extant in the hands of some, to which Mr. M'Ward wrote the preface. But this indemnity lasted but one month, and in this month of August, the field ministers met at Edinburgh, wherein the greater part of them complied, and agreed to accept of that indulgence, and to preach no more in the fields, or keep up the publick standard of the gospel, nor license or ordain any that would do it: with other instructions, and restrictions; against which Mr. M'Ward wrote plainly, now published to the world. Upon the 14th day of this month of August, when the greater part of ministers were making peace with these enemies, the never-to-be forgotten, pious, zealous, and faithful unto the death, ministers and martyrs, King and Kid, where butchered at the cross of Edinburgh; their heads and hands were hashed and hagged off by the common hangman with his bloody gully, and set up before sun and moon, upon Hetherbow-port, to be gazing stocks to the world. In this melancholy hour and power of darkness, when

the publick, faithful, free preaching of the gospel was given over, and the publick standard thereof, deserted in Scotland, great Mr. M'Ward said to Mr. Cameron, 'Richard, the publick standard of the gospel is fallen in Scotland; and if I know any thing of the mind of the Lord, ye are called to undergo your trials before us, and go home and lift the fallen standard, and display it publickly before the world; but before ye put your hand to it, ye shall go to as many of the field ministers (for then they were so called) as ye can find, and give them your hearty invitations to go with you; and if they will not go, go your alone, and the Lord will go with you.' Accordingly when the day of his ordination came, which was performed by Mr. M'Ward, Mr. Brown, and Mr. Coulman, a Dutch minister, whose piety, zeal and faithfulness the world has heard of: when their hands were off his head, Mr. M'Ward continued his hand, and cryed out, 'Behold all ye beholders, here is the head of a faithful minister, and Servant of Jesus Christ, who shall lose the same for his Master's interest, and shall be set up before sun and moon in the publick view of the world.

V. Mr. Cameron came to Scotland in the beginning of the year 1680, and spent some time in going from minister to minister, of those who formerly kept up the publick standard of the gospel; but all in vain, none of them would go with him, except Mr. Cargill and Mr. Thomas Douglass, who came together, and kept a publick fast day in Darmeid muirs, betwixt Clidsdale and Lothian: one of the chief causes, was the reception of the duke of York in Scotland, a sworn vassal of Antichrist, the devil's lieutenant; as Mr. Shields used to call him in publick, with all the evidences of joy and rejoicing, when he was rejected in England, and other places; as Mr. M'Ward makes plain, in his publick writings, now published to the world. They kept another fast-day, for the same causes, at Auchingilloch, upon the south side of Clidsdale; which James Robertson, and others of our martyrs, give their testimony unto, even their faithful and free preaching. This Mr. M'Ward wrote to him, that they would set time apart and mourn, and make

reception of the duke of York one of the chief causes; and excite and stir up all the Lord's people to mourn in publick for all the abominations of Scotland: which is also now published.

VI. After this, they were obliged to separate, and preach in different corners of the land, upon the urgent call and necessity of the people, being in a starving condition for want of the bread of life, having been for a twelvemonth before without a meal: but behold a greater famine came on; for they wanted the gospel from the first of July next year, that Mr. Cargill fell into the enemies' hands, until September 1683, that Mr. James Renwick came from Holland, and with courage and confidence lifted this fallen standard, fallen from all hands, who displayed it, publickly his alone for two years, in opposition to all, until December 1685, that Mr. Shields escaped out of the enemies' hands, and took part with him. Then was it sadly accomplished to the great grief of many of the Lord's serious zealous good people, what Mr. Kid said in his last dying words, That he feared not only a greater scarcity of honest preaching and preachers, but a real famine of the word; and what Mr. Welwood said on his death-bed, that there would not be a faithful minister in all Scotland, that honest people could hear, but two, and these would seal the testimony with their blood. That for two years time there would be such midnight-darkness, that neither moon nor star-light appeared. Then was it, that the Lord's people might go thorow the breadth and length of Scotland, and from mountain to mountain, seeking the word of the Lord, and could not find it, except in the ladies' fine chambers in Edinburgh, and such like, where very few had access; then it could not be said that the poor had the gospel preached to them.

VII. After their parting, Mr. Cameron had a publick, desirable conforming and comforting day (to the sweet experience of some yet alive,) at the Swineknow in Newmunkland in Clidsdale, upon that sweet, soul-refreshing text, *Isa.* xxxii. 2. 'And a man shall be an hiding place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest, as rivers of water in a dry place, and the

shadow of a great rock in a weary land.' In his preface that day, he said, he was fully assured, That the Lord in mercy to this church and nation, would sweep the throne of Britain, of that unhappy race of the name of Stewart, for their treachery, tyranny, leachery, but especially their usurping the royal prerogatives of King CHRIST: this he was as sure of as his hand was upon that cloth, yea more sure; for he had that by sense, but the other by faith.

VIII. Mr. H. E. that worthy good man, who had his own share of the sufferings of that time, both in prison and otherwise, yet had his feet so far out of the theats, and so far from taking part with Mr. Cargill and him in the indispensable duty of that day, that he studied a sermon to preach against them: but on the Saturday's night there was a voice spoke aloud to him, saying, *Audi*, two times. He answered, *Audio*, I hear. The voice said again, 'Beware of calling Cameron's words vain.' This stopt him from preaching against them. This Mr. H. E. himself told to an old reverend minister, yet alive, his intimate acquaintance, from whose mouth I have it.

IX. He preached at the Grass-water, near Cumnock, upon the fourth day of July, eighteen days before his death. In his preface he said, 'There are three or four things that I have to tell you this day, which I must not omit, because I will be but a breakfast or four hours to the enemies one day shortly, and my work will be finished and my time both; and the the first is this, As for that unhappy man Charles the II. who is now upon the throne of Britain, after him there shall not be a crowned king in Scotland of the name of Stewart. Secondly, There shall not be an old covenanter's head above the ground, that swore these covenants with uplifted hands, ere ye get a right reformation in Scotland. Thirdly, A man may ride a summer day in Galloway, the shire of Air and Clidsdale, and not see a reeking house nor hear a cock crow; and several other shires shall be little better, ere ye get a right reformation in Scotland. Fourthly, The rod that the Lord will make use of, shall be the French and other foreigners, together with a wick-

ed party in this land joining with them: but, ye that stand to the testimony in that day, be not discouraged with the fewness of your number; for when Christ comes to raise up his work in Scotland, he will not want men enough to work for him: yea, he may chap upon the greatest man in Scotland, and he may be a great malignant, and say, Sir, let alone this Babel building of yours, for I have another piece of work to put in your hand; and he will garr him work for him, whether he will or not. It may be, he'll convert the man, and give him his soul for a prey. And there are some of you that are hearing me, may live for age to see these things accomplished; and, after these defections and judgments are over, ye may see the nettles grow out of the bed-chambers of noblemen and gentlemen, and their names, memorials and posterity to perish from the earth.'

X. Twelve days before his death, he kept his chamber door close until night: the mistress or goodwife of that house having been several times at the door, but no access; at last she forced up the door, and found him very melancholy; she earnestly enquired how it was with him, he said, 'That weary promise that I gave to these ministers has lyen heavy upon me, for which my carcase will dung the wilderness, and that will be within a fortnight.' The like instance we have of famous Mr. Robert Bruce, who came under a promise not to preach for ten days, for which he fell under such a terror of conscience, that cast him in a fever.

XI. He had got such a large earnest, that made him have a soul longing for a full possession of the inheritance, that seldom he prayed in a family, or sought a blessing or gave thanks, but he requested for patience to wait till the Lord's time came; as several of my very dear acquaintances, who travelled much with him, told me. It was so with many of our sufferers and martyrs in that day which I hope to give some accounts of. The like instance we have of the said Mr. Robert Bruce, who had such a soul-longing for his change, so as sometimes he said, 'I wonder how I am kept by my Master so long here, since I have lived

two years already in violence,' (being 72 years of age.) I do not remember such instances of any of the saints recorded in scripture, except old Simeon, who took the child in his arms, and the singular apostle and martyr, Paul.

XII. His last Sabbath, Mr. Cargill and he preached upon the Kype-ridge in Clidsdale. His text was, Psal. 46, Be still and know that I am God. That day he said, that he was assured the Lord would lift up a standard against Antichrist, that would go to the gates of Rome and burn it with fire; and that Blood should be their sign, and No Quarters their word; and earnestly wished that it might first begin in Scotland. At their parting, they concluded to meet the next Sabbath save one at Craigmeid, but he was cut off, on the Thursday thereafter. Mr. Cargill preached a tearful sermon for his death, the next Sabbath in the Shots parish, upon that text, 'Know ye not that there is a great man and prince fallen this day in Israel?'

XIII. The last night that he was in the world, he was in the house of William Mitchell in Meadowhead, at the water of Air. About forty foot and twenty horse being in the fields, stayed with him that week, being in doubts whether to stay together, and to defend themselves from the fury of the enemies, or to disperse and shift for themselves in glens or caves, and not appear: but when going and coming from following and hearing of the gospel, there is a foolish story handed down, that that handful was divided among themselves, which is false; they were of one heart and soul, their company and converse being so edifying and sweet, and having no certain dwelling place, they stayed together, waiting for further light in that non-such juncture of time. There is a daughter of that William Mitchell's aforesaid, now an old woman, living at Edinburgh, who told me (of late) again and again, that she gave him water to his hands the last morning: and when he dried his face and hands with a towel, he looked to his hands, and laid them on his face, and said 'This is their last washing, I have need to make them clean, for there is many to see them.' Her mother wept; he said, 'Weep not

for me, but for yourself and your's, and for the sins of a sinful land; for ye have many melancholy, sorrowful, weary days before you.'

XIV. Bruce of Earlshall, that wicked and violent persecutor, having got the command of my lord Airly's troops, and Strachan's dragoons, was in search for him and them; sir John Cochran of Ochiltree gave them notice where they were to be found; accordingly, at four of the clock in the afternoon, they came upon them with great haste and fury, lying on the east end of Airdsmoss, a very desart place. When they saw the enemy so near, and no escaping; they gathered close about him, when he prayed a short word, and had these expressions three times, 'Lord spare the green and take the ripe.' When ended, he said to his brother, Michael, come let us fight it out to the last: for this is the day that I have longed for, and the death that I have prayed for, to die fighting against our Lord's avowed enemies; and this is the day that we will get the crown. And to the rest he said, be encouraged, all of you, to fight it out valiantly; for all of you that shall fall this day, I see heaven's gates cast wide open to receive them. John Potter, who suffered with Archibald Stewart the first day of December thereafter, whose heads were fixt upon the West-port, related this; and some of my very dear, intimate acquaintances, who wept thereafter, that they died not there that day, for they were afraid that they would never be in such a case for to meet with death. And these eight that died on the spot with him were ripe, and longing for that day, and death. Mr. Woodrow says, That most of these with Mr. Cameron were cut off; but this is a mistake: there were nine killed dead; David Haxton of Rathillet, John Pollock and William Manuel taken prisoners. There were in all sixty-three, twenty-three horse, and forty foot: David Haxton ordered a part of these foot to take the wind of the enemy; but he that had the command of that party, fled too soon, and cried to the rest to flee; which some of them regretted to myself, that they ran not in among the rest of the foot and horse, and fought it out to the last. Whoso desires to be further inform-

ed, may see a distinct account in the Cloud of witnesses, written by Rathillet, who had the chief command of them, who was cruelly murdered at the cross of Edinburgh, a few days thereafter, in the same month of July; the hangman cutting off his secrets and throwing them at his face, ripping up his breast with a durk, and taking out his heart alive, going round the scaffold with it fluttering upon the point of the durk: the hangman crying aloud, 'There is the heart of a traitor;' and then threw it into the fire, which they had in a chimney upon the scaffold, with his secrets.—His hands and head were struck off alive, and his body divided into four quarters, and placed upon the publick ports of the nation. William Manual died of his wounds, entering the tolbooth of Edinburgh; John Pollock was thereafter banished. Earlshall gave a guinea to cut off Mr. Cameron's head and hands, which he hagged off with a durk, with John Fowler's head instead of Michael Cameron's. Mr. Cameron's body, with the other eight were all buried upon the spot, with a large grave-stone upon four high pillars, with his name upon the head of it, and the form of an open bible before him, and the names of the other eight round the sides of it, which were, Michael Cameron, John Fowler, John Hamilton, John Gemmel, James Gray, Robert Dick, Robert Patterson, and Thomas Watson: and downward, upon the same stone was the following inscription, all in very legible letters:

Halt curious passenger, come here and read
Our souls triumph with CHRIST our glorious head;
In self-defence we murdered here do ly,
To witness 'gainst the nation's perjury.

In the year 1723, when I came from Mr. Peden's grave-stone at Cumnock, I came to Airdsmoss to that grave-stone, and stayed some time in that bloody spot, and can assert the truth of this. Earlshall marched to Edinburgh, with Mr. Cameron's head and hands, and John Fowler's, with the foresaid three prisoners. When they came to the city, he caused take them out

of the sack into which they were carried, and put them upon a halbert, and carried them to the council. The foresaid Robert Murray said, There's the head and hands that lived praying and preaching, and died praying and fighting. The council ordered the hangman to fix them upon the Netherbow-port. Mr. Cameron's father being in the tolbooth of Edinburgh for his principles, they carried them to him, to add grief to his sorrow, and enquired if he knew them. He took his son's head and hands, and kissed them, and said, I know them, I know them, they are my son's, my dear son's, and said, It is the Lord, good is the will of the Lord, who cannot wrong me nor mine, but has made goodness and mercy to follow us all our days. Mr. Cameron's head was fixed upon the port, and his hands close by his head, with his fingers upwards.

XV. Stephen Cuthel, who lived in Borrowstounness, a solid serious christian, known to many, who died in the end of the year 1715, in much peace and calmness, often told me, that immediately after this melancholy dispensation of the fall of these worthies at Airdsmoss, he went to Holland, and (as his ordinary was) went and visited Mr. M'Ward, who said, Come away Stephen, I longed to see you, and give me an account of the murder of singular Cameron and these other worthies with him. When he gave him a full account, he wept and said, Oh worthy Cameron; highly honoured of the Lord, Cameron, O covenant-breaking and burning Scotland, O blood-guilty Scotland, how many, long, and great shall thy judgments be! Stephen said to him, Sir, since I came to this place, it was said to me, That that day that Mr. Cameron was ordained, ye continued your hand upon his head, and said, Here's the head of a faithful minister and servant of Jesus Christ, who shall lose the same for his master's interest, and which shall be set up in the publick view of the world, before sun and moon. He said, indeed Stephen, 'tis most true; and it was no foresight or forethought in me; but when my hand was upon his head, I was as much persuaded of it, and as much affected with it, as if I had been at Airdsmoss, and seen his head and hands cut off, or

as if I were standing at the Netherbow-port looking to it; I could be no more persuaded, affected and afflicted, than I was at that time. Mr. Hog also of late told me, that he was present at that ordination: that Mr. M'Ward prayed last, with much fervency, and said, The head on whom thir hands are laid, shall be soon and cruelly cut off. That dispensation, of the fall and flight of their worthies at Airdsmoss, was a day of great joy and rejoicing, not only to the stated enemies, but also to the indulged and their favourites, telling it one to another as their joyful news, and some of them with loud laughter, whose names I could mention. Some old men who were publick at that time assert, that Earlshall got 500*l.* sterling for that bloody action.

Some of these bloody enemies, that were there, said to myself, That that handful were men of the greatest courage that ever they saw set their faces to fight, though they had been at battles abroad; and if they had been as well trained and armed and horsed as we were, we would have been put to the flight, and few of us escaped: their strokes and shots were deadly, and few recovered; though there were but nine of them killed, there were twenty-eight of us killed dead, and died of their wounds in a few days.

Follows a short vindication of Mr. CAMERON's name from the many foul reproaches cast upon it; As also of his faithful contendings for substance and circumstances of the sworn to and sealed testimony of this church, thorow all the periods thereof.

BUT oh! how lamentable is it, and to be lamented, that that pious, zealous, and faithful minister of Christ, and martyr for Christ, Mr. Richard Cameron, that not only his name should be buried in the vile ashes of all our impressions and notions of wild extremes, but also his faithful contendings for substance and circumstances of our attained reformation, sworn-to, and sealed testimony, should be so blotted and bluthered, with these right-hand extremes, and left-hand defections, that many have been left to fall into, so that few in the present age, far less in the following generations, can or will have an uptaking of what he and these worthies, that concurred with, and succeeded him, contended so earnestly for, for which they counted nothing too dear: as first, his name being made contemptible by drums and pipes in the Cameronian march. I wish none of these (so called) had marched so hastily that way, at that time, in these national circumstances, all things considered; though many good men rose out of the simplicity of their hearts, and formed that regiment called the Cameronian regiment, having good designs; thinking thereby to be in a better capacity to drive away the prelatical curates, to apprehend and bring to condign punishment our hand-wailed murderers, and to represent grievances to state and church, seeking hot water beneath cold ice: but when they came under military command, they were bound up from all these and other good things they designed; which made the greater part of these, who retained their former zeal and tenderness, weary, and come off Nevertheless, they were never without some evidences of the Lord's care, kindness, and protection, particularly at Dunkeld, a little after they were regimented, where they were so wonderfully preserved,

when five thousand Highland-men came furiously to cut them off, being enraged with their defeat, and Claverhouse's death at Killicranky a little before. And designed treachery by colonel Ramsay, who since was general, and died in a surfeit of wine, he having then the chief command at Perth, who sent three posts in haste to my lord Cardross, that worthy good nobleman, to come off with his regiment of horse, and leave them alone; which he was obliged to do with a sore heart. They being but about eight hundred, and destitute of powder and lead, sent to the foresaid Ramsay for them: he sent them barrels of figs and raisins, good to eat, but could neither hurt nor kill the enemy; and yet these five thousand were forced to flee, being frustrate of their design in setting some houses on fire, that thereby the smoke might come upon them; but remarkably the wind turned, and drove the smoke back of what houses they had fired, and of what houses that regiment had set on fire; and though that regiment still gets the name of Cameronian, the greater part now cry as much for damnation, as they did then for salvation. And some worthy christians said to myself, both in their life and at their death, That if ever they knew what the presence of the Lord was, it was in the very time of that action, as I hope to give account of.

Secondly, By pipers and fidlers playing the Cameronian march, carnal vain springs, which too many professors of religion dance to; a practice unbecoming the professors of christianity, to dance to any spring; but somewhat more to this. Whatever be the many foul blots recorded of the saints in scripture, none of them is charged with this regular fit of distraction: we find it has been practised by the wicked and prophane, as the dancing at that brutish base action of the calf-making; and it had been good for that unhappy lass, who danced off the head of John the Baptist, that she had been born a cripple, and never drawn a limb to her. Historians say, 'That her sin was written upon her judgment, who some time thereafter was dancing upon the ice, and it broke, and snapt the head off her; her head danced above, and her

feet beneath.' There is ground to think and conclude, that when the world's wickedness was great, dancing at their marriages was practised; but when the heavens above and the earth beneath were let loose upon them with that overflowing flood, their mirth was soon staid; and when the Lord in holy justice rained fire and brimstone from heaven upon that wicked people and city Sodom, enjoying fulness of bread and idleness, their fiddle-strings and hands went all in a flame; and the whole people in thirty miles of length, and ten of breadth, as historians say, were all made to fry in their skins: and at the end, whoever are giving in marriages, and dancing when all will go in a flame, they will quickly change their note.

I have often wondered thorow my life, how any that ever knew what it was to bow a knee in earnest to pray, durst crook a hough to fyke and fling at piper's and fidler's springs. I bless the Lord that ordered my lot so in my dancing days, that made the fear of the bloody rope and bullets to my neck and head, the pain of boots, thumbikins and irons, cold and hunger, wetness and weariness, to stop the lightness of my head, and the wantonness of my feet — What the never-to-be forgotten man of God, John Knox said to queen Mary, when she gave him that sharp challenge, which would strike our mean-spirited tongue-tacked ministers dumb, for his giving publick faithful warning of the danger of church and nation, through her marrying the Dauphine of France, when he left her bubbling and greeting, and came to an outer court where her lady Marie's were fyking and dancing, he said, 'O brave ladies, a brave world if it would laste, and heaven at the hinderend; but fy upon the knave Death, that will seize upon these bodies of yours, and where will all your fidling and flinging be then?' dancing being such a common evil, especially amongst young professors, that all the lovers of the Lord should hate, has caused me to insist the more upon it, especially that foolish spring the Cameronian march.

Thirdly, The author of the 'Proper Project for

Scotland,' although he takes the foolish title to himself of being 'True blue,' he cannot give his pamphlet a title, without declaring himself not excessively Cameronian: how can he or any other instruct, that Mr. Cameron, or those who concurred and succeeded him, did exceed the bounds of covenanted Presbyterian principles?

Fourthly, The author of the Scots Memoirs dates that nickname from the year 1670, whereas it took no place, till after Mr. Cameron's death, and was very little to be heard of until the revolution, that they invented that foolish spring; and the late Kersland calls them by that name at Drumclog before Bothwel-bridge. Why do they not all call them Cargillites, if they will give them a nickname, (as Bishop Burnett does in his history) who was of the same principle and practice a little after Mr. Cameron was born, and which he sealed with his blood as Mr. Cameron did?

Fifthly, John and Andrew Harleys and several others with them, overrun and overdriven with enthusiastick quakerish notions, acted and led by John Gib's spirit, and Mr. Patrick Grant and some few with him, have been doting with a dizzy head these fourteen years, since I was in debate with him. And these years past, John and Andrew Harleys have usurped the office of the ministry, taking upon them at their own hand, not being orderly called, to preach, marry and baptize, which all sound Presbyterians abhor, however qualified they may be. I went and heard Andrew Harley make the fashion of preaching upon a Thursday, in the Cowgate of Edinburgh, being their ordinary week day, for informing my judgment, and to confirm me of my ill-thoughts of them and others, as I have done several times, and always got my errand; his hearers consisted of five women, his brother John, a boy and a girl. He rambled through the whole 58th chapter of Isaiah; but his sermon had neither top, tail nor mane; he had not one material sentence; and there are others much of the like stamp, of bloody murdering principles, who not only separate from all, but are for cutting off all who are

not of their wild sentiments; which all have ground to be thankful for, that the power is not in their hands which is evident to all in their publick writings: and yet all these are foolishly called Cameronians; but more of these afterwards, if the Lord will.

Sixthly, In the year 1721, one Alexander Cairns, a servant in Tillycoultry parish near Stirling, working with a spade at a ditch or dike, his head turned round. Some say, That some mocking youths (he being reckoned a serious man,) lying hid, spake through a speaking trumpet; he apprehended that it was a voice from heaven speaking to him, 'Come up hither, and I will shew thee things to come.' He stood gazing; he apprehended again the voice said, 'There will a great light arise out of the north, and go to the south, which should affright many, and put some women distracted, and that there should be four years of dearth,' with other foolish notions. He came under the power of such delusions, that he quit his work, and betook himself to fasting, prayer and wrestling, to know what should be the end of these wonders; but it had been better for him to have wrestled with the plough and other servile work. When the set day of May that he condescended on came, the castle of Edinburgh, and other places, were throng with people to see that light; but when the day was far spent, my soul was vexed to hear the debauchees crying to damn the Cameronian; others saying, yea some of our luke-warm professors 'The Cameronian is deceived, he is o'er like his name-father.'

Seventhly, Some years ago, one Mr. John Adamson, who got an act of license from the presbytery of Perth, came to the west of Scotland, and desired to join with the dissenters; but they delayed until they were better informed about him: at which he took offence, and set up for his own hand, to raise himself upon the ruins of all other parties whatsomever, and got a party to take part with him in the shires of Air and Clidsdale and no where else; a stain on these two ancient shires, where the gospel had its first, greatest, and longest seat. Though Scotland was reckoned among the rudest and wildest of the heathen nations,

yet very early after Christ's ascension, among the first gentile nations, the Lord was pleased in his unspeakable goodness and mercy, to send the gospel to Britain. In these two shires, the Culdees, and after them the Lollards had their residence, who first embraced the gospel, and retained and maintained it against much opposition. This was a blot upon these two shires, for such a man as Adamson, on whose head the moon had influence, especially at its height: his publick letters to the presbytery and magistrates of Perth are a sufficient evidence of this, to get a party, and have such publick meetings. So many hearing him, I went upon my foresaid design to hear him, there being such a noise about him, and got it. He rambled the whole day, touched many things, but I could gather nothing; he put a toom spoon in that people's mouth, that could not feed nor nourish them: the church excommunicated him, and he gave them groats for pease, he excommunicated them. Some serious christians observing, that he took little or no time alone for prayer, meditation or reading; for this reason, some of the humble pleaders for the good old way, particularly in Auchinclough in the parish of Sorn, four of them watched forty-eight hours night and day. And though he had the conveniency of that chamber where Mr. Peden had the troubled night about the French Monshies, and fields; yet they said to me when I I was there six years ago, that they were sure he took not one moment's time for any of the foresaid duties. The report of this, and many noticing this more and more, made many desert him; and though he had only an act of license, yet he took upon him to baptize and marry; this made more and more forsake him. At length he proclaimed his own marriage at some of his publick meetings, and drew up the form of a marriage oath, and caused a man under a mala fama read it before them; this was all the marriage he sought. The two foresaid Harleys and others took wives to themselves, breaking the good order of the church of Scotland. After this people quite deserted him: he went to Fife, and built a house for himself in some common place there; he having made a good hand

among them in the west for a piece of money, though the most part of those that followed him were poor and none of the best. At last he went some miles to baptize a child, the way he was not called, being not lawfully and legally ordained and authorised so to do: coming home having the ague, and taking one of these fits, he went into a house by the way; but the people were so rude to him, that they would not suffer him to stay; they having heard what challenges the pious, zealous, and faithful Mr. James Bathgate minister at Orwell, (who ran fast, his time being short) got by the ministers of that bounds, for his suffering him to stay all night in his house, it being very stormy, and for letting him pray in his family, and for singing psalms at his examinations of his own parish, and for his keeping a fast day in his own parish, for his praying for Mr. Gabriel Wilson when he was under censure for his sermon called the *Trust*, and for his giving thanks publickly to the Lord for helping him to stand his ground when so many were fighting so fiercely against him. Mr. Adamson was also very desirous to have joined the representers and protesters; which they utterly refused. He went home, after these people put him to the door, and died within a few days, leaving his death upon that family, who would not suffer him to stay till that fit went off. He and those that followed him to the west, were also foolishly called Cameronians.

Eighthly, Mr. James Taylor, sometime minister at Wamphry in Annandale, was processed before the presbytery of Lochingbert, and synod of Dumfries, upon several accounts, since that national defection of taking that bundle of unhappy oaths; and ever since, the swearers have sought but a hair to make a teather of, against that small handful of non-swearers, being so blinded and byast with affection and prejudice: affectioned to all who go foot for foot, with them in backsliding courses, and looking upon all with an ill eye, and constructing all to the worst, of all others who dare not go their length, venturing more of their bastard zeal against these non-swearers, and these worthy ministers and christians, nicknamed Marrow-folk, than

against all the damnable errors and abominations of whatever kind, abounded in these covenanted lands of Britain and Ireland. Many lamentable instances might be given, considering what the reverend James Hog and Mr. Bathgate, and several others, have been tossed and vexed with; but, above all, their running the length and dreadful height of deposing Mr. Hepburn, Mr. Gilchrist, and Mr. Taylor; but especially of running the astonishing height of excommunicating the last two by the synod of Dumfries, authorised by the general assembly, whereby it became the deed of the whole church; as also the tossing Mr. Gabriel Wilson minister of the gospel at Maxton, for near two years, from judicatory to judicatory, for that sermon he preached before the synod of Kelso, called The Trust, now published, which speaks more for itself, than all his or its opposers have or can lay against him and it. I wish he had published all their queries, and his answers, which would have given much light to all who desire the knowledge of gospel truths. At last, when he came before the whole Assembly, and many other witnesses, he said, 'Moderator, I have a few words more to say, I shall not be tedious to this venerable assembly.' Mr. Robert Dundas of Arnistoun, then his Majesty's advocate, said, 'Not one word, not one word.' Mr. Wilson said, 'Moderator, seeing I have not liberty to speak, I adhere to the protestation of my representing brethren.' Then there was a speaking amongst the long-heads about the helm, some saying, 'O insolence!' and others, 'O insolent!' others saying, 'After all the work about him, we have not gained the least ground of him.' Let the unbyast world be judge what a stain this is to the sometime famous General Assembly of the church of Scotland, heard of thorow the world: an unprecedented case, for an elder (for as such he spoke there, and no law advocates, as such, should sit or speak before church judicatories) to discharge a minister, accused for his doctrine, to speak in his own defence, and none to cry out injustice and wrong: a shame for us all, who were witnesses to it, to keep silence; much more for members, where properly it became them to speak. I

have often since the first Assembly, because of what I saw there and since, (although I longed to see General Assemblies and other church judicatories) been made to wish I had never seen any such unfaithful judicatories, and if I were not mortally guilty, I would rather venture my neck before our justiciary lords, where I could get clean pith and fair play for my life, than before church judicatories; for if I were opposite to the backsliding spirit of the day, I would be sure to come off with loss. How may the Heathens shame us? some who have been amongst them say, 'That some of their judges keep their courts in the night time, that they may hear what is spoken, but not who speaks, that thereby they may give justice to all parties.' It was a wickedness in these judicatories to give such offences, and a weakness in Mr. Taylor to take such offence. Two blacks will never make a white. What I have to say against Mr. Taylor, I harled out of his own mouth. In the year 1723, I was in the muirs of Evandale, providentially upon the Lord's day; and he being to preach in the muirs of Killbride, I went and heard him preach before a considerable multitude, where he sung the 19th Psalm from the 7th to the 12th, holding forth twelve advantages in these five verses, exhorting all to prize and improve their bibles, for they would be scarce in the west of Scotland, if once the Papists were amongst them; and lectured very distinctly upon the 88th Psalm, of what troubles were upon Heman's soul and body; and preached upon that text, 'Buy the truth, and sell it not.' He concluded, that Christ was the substance of all truths; where he insisted in a very large and free offer of the gospel, for all to come without money, &c. He insisted in the afternoon upon the many ways of buying and selling of the truth; and said, 'For him he had been a seller of the truth, as well as others.' I heard him with much satisfaction the whole day, until the application of the whole, where he went out of my sight, in saying, 'Though I am none of the youngest men, some elder than I thought and said, that this was one of the most melancholy dispensations that had gone over the church of Scotland's head, that it was hard for any man

to speak, preach, or write, but some would take exceptions, and make reflections.' He was excepted against for refusing church privileges of both sacraments to persons that were not, nor would enter into society-meetings for prayer and conference. *Secondly*, He was reflected upon, for refusing church privileges to persons who would not come up the length of the testimony. I knew not what to make of this length, until some of his leading followers said, 'That it was these that heard any of the ministers without exception, and bind themselves in bonds so to do. I said, Mr. Taylor could not instruct any of our contenders that espoused such a principle or practice.' He said, Mr. James Renwick. These things parted Mr. Gilchrist and him, and made Mr. Gilchrist say, when dying, 'Poor man, he will run on in these untrodden paths, and ruin himself.' But let Mr. Taylor father this bastard zeal upon whom he will, Mr. Renwick was neither father nor mother to it: none that I know now alive, was more witness, nor so much concerned with his conduct and management in these things, than I was; yet I never saw nor heard of his asking any such questions, whether they were in society meetings or not, or requiring any such obligation: he did indeed preach up, and exhorted to this duty of setting up and keeping up of society meetings; but if he got known persons to testify that they were free of publick scandal, national and personal, of commission and omission, (for persons who came to him for church privileges, could not have certificates, nor would he have received certificates from curates or indulged) and if they had a competency of knowledge in the fundamentals, this was all he required; and sometimes when fathers were ignorant, or publick wrong steps in their life: in that case, if mothers were satisfying, he allowed them to present their children, the father standing by, and receiving rebukes and exhortations to amend; at other times, admitting of sponsors, when no other course could be taken. I wish from my heart that Mr. Taylor and all others would beware of charging Mr. Renwick's name with falsehoods: Reproaches broke his heart while alive, but then he defended himself with tongue and pen;

and now, when he is long ago honestly off the stage, to bury his name in the rubbish of right hand extremes, is a great injury. Besides all this his other singular endowments, he had a deep reach of solid mother wit, and (of his standing) was well versed in church discipline; and if he had lived until this day, would have been esteemed a great man for discipline.

Ninthly, These dissenters, for some years commonly called M'Millan's folk, who were a part of the united societies before the revolution (commonly since nicknamed Cameronians) for eight years time, except the unhappy debates in the year 1685, mentioned in my former preface, were of one heart and soul, until the happy revolution, that the spirit of division and confusion was poured out among us; then we were all like men in a dream, as the pious Mr. John Blackadder (commonly called, Guess again) said in a sermon upon that text, Psal. 126, 1, in the fields, wherein he asserted, 'The Lord would turn back our captivity. He desired all the wise heads of wit in the world to guess when and how the Lord would turn back our captivity; for him, he would guess none, for we would all be as men in a dream.' Then were there many stumbling-blocks laid in our way, on which many stumbled and fell, and never recovered themselves till this day: First, By the state, when king William was admitted to the throne without our covenants proposed to him, contrary to the national laws of this kingdom, enacted in parliament, when Charles II. was present in the year 1650. 2dly, When we saw so many of hand-bloody persecutors sitting in that convention of states; for this there was no help, being their birthright, or legally cited to sit there, not ours. 3dly, Some whose hands were reeking in the blood of martyrs whom we apprehended, and sought justice to be executed upon them; but in vain, for the greater part of them that sat there, were either guilty themselves, or their near relations. 4thly, Some were offended that any of our societies should have concurred with many other honest men in guarding that convention, when there was so much need for it, having no forces in the kingdom, and not knowing what the

Lord was about to do in this doubtful juncture, Claverhouse having upwards of an hundred horse in readiness in town, and many other wicked men gathered to the town, and dwelling in the town, designing to raise the convention; and these two worthy good men, my lord Crawford Lindsay, and my lord Cardross, and others, who had their own share of that persecution, were in danger of being murdered, both by night and day; to prevent which a guard was kept at their lodgings: Claverhouse and many others being enraged to see so many honest men in arms, every day enquiring at the convention, what meant the inbringing of the rabble. 5thly, The hasty rise of Angus's regiment was taken ill by some: these were a part of our unhappy debates about the state; notwithstanding there were some promising things in this convention. The bishops frequented that house for some days, and said prayers in the morning: the bishop of Dunkeld was the last, where they prayed for the man for whom they had often watered their couches. The convention discharged them to enter there again, and said, 'They had no use for spiritual lords;' and they were put out with disdain and contempt, Skelmorly said, 'Let them stay a little and explain their prayers, or else he would explain them as he understood them: for the man, no doubt it was the duke of York; but his doubt was the manner of watering their couches; for, sure he was, it was never with their tears, but it behoved to be by pissing, and spewing, when they lay drunk upon them.' When they came out, some of the convention said, 'They wished that the honest lads knew that they were put out, for then they would not win away with heal gowns.' All the fourteen gathered together with pale faces, and stood in a croud in the Parliament-closs. James Wilson, Robert Neilson, Francis Hislop, and myself, were standing close by them: Francis Hislop with force thrust Robert Neilson upon them; their heads went hard upon one another; but there being so many enemies in the city, fretting and gnashing their teeth, waiting for an occasion to raise a mob, where undoubtedly blood would have been shed; and we having laid down conclusions

among ourselves, to guard against giving the least occasion to all mobs, kept us from tearing of their gowns.

Their graceless graces went quickly off, and neither bishop or curate was seen in the streets; this was a surprising sudden change, not to be forgotten.—Some of us would have rejoiced more than in great sums, to have seen these bishops sent legally down the bow, that they might have found the weight of their tails in a tow, to dry their hose soles, that they might know what hanging was; they having been active for themselves, and the main instigators of all the mischiefs, cruelties and bloodshed of that time, wherein the streets of Edinburgh, and other places of the land, did run with the innocent, precious, dear blood of the Lord's people.

When the convention came to discourse whether the crown was vacant or not, sir Patrick Home then of Polwart, said, 'That the duke of York had never a legal right to it, nor legal parliament.' Some said, 'If ye mention that, ye will be as wild as ever Renwick was.' The laird of Blair said, 'Wild! we have been hanging and shooting honest men for wildness, and now, we are all turned wild together.'

They unexpectedly, at this time, did also justify and approve of what we had done in destroying the monuments of idolatry, and putting away the prelatical courts. There were several other encouraging and promising things in the state; but nothing but discouragements from the church, from which better things might have been expected.

Upon the 16th day of October 1660, the general assembly convened, and had so little sight or sense of their dreadful national defections in addressing and accepting of Charles's toleration, and having their general meetings under the same, as they were then called, that they had the confidence to mention Mr. Gabriel Cunninghame, one of the actually-indulged, as their last moderator: their new chosen moderator was Mr. H. K. who was deposed for his zeal and faithfulness in his young days by the publick resolutioners; and, after that, preached none until the year 1679, that the

third indulgence was granted; then he preached four Sabbaths within the parish of Mid-Calder, where he was formerly minister, and assisted at an indulged sacrament in West-Calder in October thereafter, where all that had been in the late insurrection at Bothwel-bridge were debarred; and then preached no more until York's toleration, being one of the eight who gave thanks for the same, in name of the whole church of Scotland; and who had baptized with the curate in Bathgate, and paid stipends and cess; and being an heritor there, sent John Hervy a wright, (who lately died there) to the enemies' camp upon an horse, to enlist his name under the dragoons' banner, which all heretors were charged to do: and he with Mr. David Home drew up that declaration, commonly called Hamilton declaration, which divided and rent that handful of the Lord's people in arms for the defence of the gospel at Bothwel-bridge. And though he, after long silence, preached the foresaid four Sabbaths, and the whole time of York's toleration; yet Mr. Pitcairn in Drone, who was active in deposing of honest ministers for their faithfulness in that day, opposed his being moderator, where he got some sort of reponing again. Their choosing such a moderator, so guilty of our national defections, of commissions and omissions, was a swatch of what members this first assembly was made up of; men who had sinned away zeal and faithfulness, by wallowing in the sink and puddle of our national abominations of indulgences and toleration, and many otherwise guilty of sinful and shameful silence [illegible]fulness; the greater part tongue-persecutors, and some by hands. These are the chief reasons why these latter times have been so unlike our former times of reformation: then the most zealous and faithful were moderators, and sat at the [illegible] of church affairs, and naughty men were made stand back: but at this time the publick, witty politicians, consulting and racking the rules of carnal state-policy, began like broken heirs serving themselves to their grandfathers, going back near an hundred years in settling the church, passing over all the great things that were wrought and done from the year 1638 to 1649, not as-

serting the intrinsick power of the church: and all they desired and sought of the convention, when drawing up the claim of right, was to rescind prelacy, and to establish presbytery, being the inclinations of the people; a very loose unsure foundation: not one word of its divine right, nor renewing our broken burnt covenants, which was very surprising to some good men in the convention. It was also all that Mr. William Crighton, Mr. Hugh Kennedy, Mr. David Jamieson desired or sought of king William, when sent to him, who was willing to grant all at his first accession to the throne (before he was imposed on and biassed by the English) that might have tended to the good of the nation and church of Scotland; a nonsuch golden season slighted and lost, without acquainting him with the constitution of this church, and steps of our reformation, and the superadded tie of our solemn national covenants, or seeking the renewing of them; but above all, the sin and danger of Erastianism, in picking out any of the pearls of King CHRIST's crown, which his throne are dreadfully guilty of, which affords ground to conclude, that it is one of the chief causes why the Lord, in holy justice and mercy to this church, has made the crown tumble from the head of the unhappy race of Stewarts. It is remarkable what good honest Samuel said to Saul, when he did dling with the priest's office, (the kingdom shall not continue, after he was made king) 'Rejected thee from being king.'

Next, When we saw our manifold defections, was to be passed, fections, especially in our ministers, without either personal acknowledgement, or being doctrinally condemned, and though it had been, as epidemical, that is, the most part of all ranks involved therein, yet then the personal censure and confessing of them cleared, only national fasting and humiliation: but several of our national defections were not epidemical; and though all of them had names and distinctions one from another, yet most of them lost their names, and were not insert in the causes of that first

national fast appointed by that assembly. This was also very offensive and stumbling to all who retained sight and sense of the multitude and heinousness of the same: a slight way of healing indeed, which now is undercotted, and seems to be incurable; the nation wasting, and the church sinking under the dead weight of these, and our innumerable provocations since, pining away in our iniquities, and spending our wretched years in trouble.

Next, The hard and bad treatment masters Shields, Linning and Boyd met with; their paper containing their grievances only read in a committee, not one speaking in favour of it, except an old minister from the North, who said, 'That is a fell sort of a paper, it deals the beetle among the bairns, and gives me a cuff in the by-going:' and condemned in an open assembly, though few of them knew what was in it. Old sir James Stewart, advocate, said several times, 'This was a stain to that assembly:' and let the unbiassed world judge, if that paper deserved these epithets they gave it, inserted in their published acts, viz.—'That it contains several peremptory gross mistakes, [illegible]easonable and unpracticable proposals, uncharita-[illegible] injurious reflections.'

[illegible]eral corre[illegible] When we were sent from the united gen-were long put [illegible] to represent our grievances, we laid before them, many with great difficulty got them [illegible]ed upon us with a frowning [illegible]em about the helm look-we saw many of our bitter-tongued [illegible]tenance; and when [illegible] so little regard to our grievances, and esteem of us, that they thought it not worth their while to give us any answer; these and other things made us come out with our hearts filled with sorrow, which made James Wilson say to me, 'Now is that sadly accomplished, what Mr. Peden said to me at Mr. Cameron's grave, which is to be found in the 36th passage of his life:' this was a juncture of time when we had both mercy and judgment to sing of, though, alas! the most part quite mistuned a time of weeping and rejoicing. These who had seen our first temple in our reforming covenanting days, and who had walk-

ed about our Zion, and telled her towers, and marked her bulwarks of reformation, they wept when they saw this so unlike it: others, who had not seen nor taken notice, they rejoiced; some lost sight of both their eyes, and regarded nothing either right or wrong: some lost sight of their left eye, and saw nothing wrong; others of their right eye, and saw nothing right. Oh they are happy who see with both their eyes, whose souls the Lord puts in life, and keeps in life, and whose feet he keeps from sliding under the strange steps and changes of his dispensations.

The foresaid grievances in the state, but especially in the church being many, laid the foundation for all the unhappy divisions and separations that have continued now these thirty-six years. Some are confident, that these grievances were a sufficient ground of disowning that state, and separating from the church, and all others that durst not or could not go their length in principle and practice, these were very bitter against the former three ministers. Mr. Shields much lamented his silence before the Assembly, and coming so far short of former resolutions, That if ever he saw such an occasion, he should not be tongue-tacked: Messrs. Linning and Boyd had too much influence upon him, being in haste for kirks, stipends and wives. The greater part of the gleanings of that persecution were for humbly pleading for the good old way, in a legal manner representing these grievances to judicatories of both kinds: this we thought was a legal testimony against them, and exoneration of us; and that nothing more was required of us, in our stations and capacities, but to mourn before the Lord for the great and grievious wrongs in in the state, but especially in the church: the snares being broke, and the practices of these defections stopt by this merciful revolution-dispensation, though the sin of the tyranny and defections of that time did, and do still ly as a dead weight upon this sinful land. This we did to the convention; and when it was turned into a parliament, Mr. Shields having drawn up grievances to represent to them, he read them before a general correspondent, which all were well pleased

with, (one thing which we sought amongst many others of that parliament, was, The rescinding of all the wicked acts and laws, made in favours of abjured prelacy, and against our covenanted work of reformation and Presbyterian principles, which was never done to this day, but stands in the registers; an unhappy foundation for a new mischief of persecution) and choosed Michael Shields, James Wilson and myself, to present them; but Mr. Shields advised us before we gave them in, to take Mr. Thomas Hog's advice, (commonly called the North-country Mr. Hog) he being then at Edinburgh, which he did. He desired twenty-four hours to consider our paper, which we gave him: he took our paper in his hand, and said, 'I have considered your paper, and I am well pleased with every sentence and expression in it and your method in keeping up a legal testimony against the many wrongs of this day; and have found myself obliged to go to my knees, and bless the Lord that there is yet a remnant in Scotland, thinking, speaking, and writing with this zeal and faithfulness: only I am in doubts if ye shall give it in at this time; but let them hag and hash on, for they will make no cleanly work, neither in state nor church; and when ye see wherein they have done wrong, and what they have left undone, then to tell them in plain terms: but ye may do as ye have in commission and freedom; for I neither will persuade, nor dissuade you.' At this time it was delayed. All knows we continued to represent to the church judicatories from the beginning, against all discouragements, until the infatuate demented union, and since the taking of these black oaths, many have laid aside thoughts of further representing; many fearing, and some asserting, that they have changed their head and holding, and hold their ministry now by the authority of the lords spiritual and temporal, having subjected their ministry to them; and submitted to mischiefs enacted by them; and their being involved in such deep compliances, and daubing and plastering these, and sinfully and shamefully more and more silent at the time's abominations, and altogether dumb, when these oaths were first invented, and enacted to be im-

posed upon officers civil and military, without the least warning of the snares, sin and danger of submitting to the usurped abjured authority of spiritual lords: this was a defection in officers of state and army, but a double defection in ministers, to submit not only to the power of prelatical hierarchy, but also to the usurped abjured supremacy of magistrates, to impose oaths upon ministers of the gospel, as they are ministers; these two being equally sworn against, and the chief grounds of all our contendings, wrestlings and sufferings; and innocent blood, precious blood, dear blood, blood that cries both loud and long, and is crying this day against all actors, concurrers, connivers and approvers, which takes in the most part of all ranks in Scotland these 156 years, since the war began, chiefly upon these two grounds, betwixt the woman's seed and the serpent's brood.

Upon these foresaid grounds, the humble pleaders for the good old way dare not own these swearing ministers, nor address and represent to them grievances, as judicatories of Christ, if it were not by way of remonstrance and protestation; the most part being so involved in these national defections.

The foresaid lamentable divisions and separations in these called M'Millan's folk, from all that durst not go their length in principle and practice, was not, neither are stated either in substance or circumstances, but only in overstretched consequences, or different methods and manner of keeping up a testimony; they concluded that these grievances in state and church were a sufficient ground of proclaiming to the world their disowning the state, and separation from all others that durst not walk in these dangerous unprecedented paths; they making no difference betwixt our present condition, and our former period of tyranny and defection, when we were under different dispensations and circumstances: then we had no judicatories that we durst either with safety to our consciences nor bodies appear before; but since the revolution, there was danger to either: before the union, our grievances lay mostly in omissions, and unfaithful mismanagements; but now, in their mani-

fold and manifest defections. All owns, that each period of the church has its own different dispensations and circumstances, wherein the sovereign wisdom of God is to be acknowledged, for the trial of his people; for if all were alike, then it would be no trial or difficulty to the Lord's people, to know the times, and what they ought to do: but different dispensations and circumstances, call for changes of methods and manners of managing a testimony against the sins and snares of the time. Under the last period, we were deprived of religion, life and liberty; under this, we may enjoy all these things. All present know this time; and whoever desires a short compendious account of that period, let them glance over the Informatory Vindication, especially the 41st, 42nd and 43d pages thereof, which Mr. Renwick and Mr. Shields wrote, and Mr. Renwick owns in his last words; and which was published at the desire, and with the approbation and consent of all the united societies; which Mr. M'Millan's people have represented, and call their's, though I know no human writing strikes more directly against the measures and methods they have taken since the revolution, particularly the 80th, 81st, 82,nd, 83d, and 84th pages, which they look upon as sufficient grounds of withdrawing from either ministers or members of this covenanted church: and the six various cases the church may be in, and what the people should do in every one of these cases, pages, 75th, 76th, 77th, and 78th. And the nine grounds of withdrawing from ministers and others, guilty of such and such things, from the 88th page to the 110th page, wherein it is frequently said, 'That in that period, under these dispensations and non-such circumstances, that they withdrew, these unhappy divisions and separations were among the gleanings of that persecution, whereof the most part are now off the stage, which have had many bad and sad effects and consequences, and few looking upon them as judgments and miseries, but too many taking delight therein, every one being right in their own eyes: an alienation of love and affection, and more love to opinion than piety, and drinking in of all ill

reports with pleasure, however groundless and malicious they be, without searching into the truth or falsehood, and reporting them to others; whereby they both wrong themselves, the persons they speak to, and these they speak of.' I know none more guilty of this than professing women, who have got more of notional religion than heart religion; and the more they possess and concern themselves with national controversies, the more guilty of spreading ill reports of these who differ from them I wish that all the Lord's people, who have a mind for heaven, would keep a bridle hand here: it is given as one of the characters of a citizen of Zion, that they do not slander with their tongues, nor take up and spread ill reports to the hurt of their neighbour. The type David says, That slanderers and liars shall not dwell in his house, directly contrair to many other scriptures. I have been witness (to my grief) to much of this, these forty six years, among divided parties: and I have had my leal share of wrongs this way, and may expect more and more of it.

I have often thought, these many years, that the greater part think and speak too little of the breaking, burning, and burying of our national covenants, and the innocent blood of the Lord's worthies; other some think and speak more of them, than of the broken covenants of works, and the blessed sweet covenant of grace, or Christ's doing and dying. The blessed Mr. Cargill says in his last words, to the first of these, 'The religion of the land, and the zeal for the Lord's engagements, are come to nothing, but a supine, lothesome and hateful formality; and there cannot be zeal, liveliness and rightness in people, who want heart-renovation; and let never any think, they are in the right exercise of true religion, that want a zeal for God's publick glory.' And to the last he says, 'That he had followed holiness, and taught truth, and had been most in the main things; not that he thought the things concerning the times little, but he thought none could do any thing to purpose in God's great and publick matters, till they were right in their

own conditions.' Oh! that all had taken this course! there had been fewer apostasies in this land.

I know not a more holding evidence of carnality, and want of that love so much commanded and commended among the Lord's people, and such an enemy to the serious exercise of grace, and inconsistent with a gospel-spirit, and a stop to sweet edifying conversation, as this; and by these unhappy separations from all ministers, even those whom they cannot charge with any actual step of defection, but are as much grieved, and mourn more before the Lord for all the backslidings of this land, as the most part of them do; only they dare not go their length in positive declinings and separations, fearing the remedy to be worse than the disease. These dissenters have not only deprived themselves of some soul refreshing blinks of the gospel, which some of the Lord's people can tell from sweet experience, these years bygone; but also have sadned the hearts of ministers, and have been a dead weight upon their ministry, and lessened their authority, and have had a sad influence upon many ignorant people, especially the younger, making them conclude that they have more to say against such ministers and others, than upon good ground they have or can say, lessening their esteem of the ordinances of Christ; and a bad example to the carnal, unconcerned slumberers, loiterers, and clatterers-away of the Sabbath. Separating from all without distinction, hardens the actually guilty in their defections, and mars one of the ends of our withdrawings; to wit, that they may be ashamed of their evil deeds.

Further, the four declarations over the cross of Sanquhar, the first, August 10th 1692; the second, November 6th 1695; the third, May 21st 1703; the fourth, May 1707, proclaiming to the world their disowning of the state. What ever or who ever moved and stirred them up to take that way? that declaration 1707 was a popish malignant contrivance, there being at that time a designed rebellion amongst them.

Some in the government allowed the late laird of Kersland, to feign himself to be on their side, that he might find out all their secrets, and discover them;

and when he drew frankly up with them, they knowing that he lived in the midst of many dissenters, and was intimate with them, they pressed him to go and to persuade the Cameronians to proclaim their disowning of the state, and they would persuade the king of France that the Cameronians would join them; and this would have great influence with him to send men and arms for their assistance; which Kersland did, and convened M'Millan's folk with one of their preachers at the cross of Sanquhar, and proclaimed the same, and fixed a copy thereof upon the cross: and though the pretender's interest was not insert directly, yet it was couched in it. This Kersland has insert in his memoirs, left behind him to the world.

Many thorow Britain and Ireland, but espscially in Scotland, were surprised with the first of these declarations, when they heard that the persecuted Presbyterians in Scotland had proclaimed their disowning of the prince of Orange, as king of Britain, the man whom the Lord, in his sovereignty, mercy and goodness to these lands, especially Scotland, had raised up, helped and honoured to be the instrument to put a stop to tyranny and the flood of Popery coming upon us as an inundation of waters; and the designed massacre, especially in the west of Scotland; and struck his enemies in such terror and confusion, that they could not manage their arms at Salisbury-plains, when there were so many thousands gathered together against him, which made him in some respects a conqueror; as some, who were witness to it, told me.—He might have lived in peace, safety and honour all his days, and got a bit to his mouth, and a brat to his back, and never involved himself in such manifold dangers; especially when he went in person to Ireland for the relief of the massacred Protestants by the bloody Irish Papists. Whatever too much eye he had to the crown of Britain, as some writers say, see what the worthy banished Brown says in his Banders disbanded. What wants and wrongs may be about kings, before that people can warrantably proclaim their disowning of them? It is said of a thinking king, who took the crown from his head, and set it upon the ta-

ble, that he said, 'If the world knew what thorns and briars thou art lined with, they would not reckon thee worth the uptaking at their foot.' Crowns are like other created profits, pleasures and honours; they look better afar off, than when in hand; and give so much toil to the body, and vexation to the spirit, as almost takes away the comfort and sweetness of all other enjoyments, *All* being *vanity and vexation of spirit.*

I have often thought that our unthankfulness may be reckoned among the causes of God's wrath, that we did not understand nor regard the doing of the Lord's hand, in delivering us when we were at the brink of perishing; especially the sufferers in the united societies, whose necks were upon the blocks, being excluded in York's toleration, that we did not in a special manner sing forth his praises for his goodness and works of wonder done for us in particular, when our storm was turned into a calm. And it is well known that king William had a sympathy with the persecuted church of Scotland, and shewed kindness to her sufferers, for which he got a sharp challenge from his uncles by writing: and also our church had great kindness of queen Mary, in whom only of that ill family there was not only some good thing, but things found; one holding evidence was, That she had some concern about salvation, that few kings and queens, and the most part far below them have. Mr. William Castairs put in her hand one of that compendious treatise of Mr. Guthry's, The trial of a saving interest in Christ. Sometime thereafter he enquired, 'How she pleased the little swatch of Scots Presbyterian writings?' she said, 'She admired it, and should never part with it while she lived.

And king George if he had got things right, they had not been so far wrong as they are. All know, that these three nation-wasting and church-sinking abominations of union, toleration, and patronages, were established by law, by the last of that unhappy race of Stewarts: and whatever wants and wrongs have been about king William, queen Mary and king George, blame the representatives of the nation, that are lawmakers and law-executors, in whose hand is the pow-

er of setting up and putting down of kings; but especially the church, who have never dealt faithfully and freely with them, by giving them warning of the great and dreadful guilt lying upon that throne, especially of Erastianism; king William and king George being members of other churches, who have their testimonies for Christ's prophetical and priestly offices. But it has been the glory and honour of Scotland alone, to contend for Christ's kingly office, as head and king of his own dear bought church. They have been far from the valiantness of the fourscore priests, that withstood Uzziah for encroaching upon the priest's office, for which he was remarkably punished. And though the sword in king William and king George's hands have not been so much a terror to all ill doers as they ought, yet it has never been a terror to well doers; as Mr. Shields said, 'Under the former reigns there was nothing but tyranny, and under this government, there's too much mercy and lenity; and both these are extremes.'

Since these dangerous and unhappy disownings and separations began at the revolution, there have been many stumbling blocks laid in the way by the state, but especially by the church, upon which many serious christians stumbled, and got an ill impression, and went home and gave it to others, which has remained upon their spirits, till this day: and though the most part of these old worthy gleanings be off the stage, yet there are some risen up in their room, espousing the same principles and practices, but far from their self-denial, growth, attainments, and experience in the ways of the Lord; and they have got many more offences since, and there is ground to fear will get more and more, if these melancholy days be lengthened out.

From the dear bought experience I have of being 14 months in the enemies cruel and bloody hands, in the very heat and height of that tyranny, and 18 times examined, and one time with boots and thumbikins; and when the owning of authority, or rather pure tyranny, was one of their many wicked and ensnaring questions; I have been often made to wonder, if the state had been as hard upon dissenters as the church have

been upon some, where these good well meaning people, upon the peril of their necks and the bloody rope, would have got the strength, confidence, support and comfort, to set up their faces, and say, That they do not own king William and king George as kings of Britain. But I have wondered most, that Mr. M'Millan, a teacher and defender of these principles and practices, [when his fainting (as his people calls it) was so great before his brethren in the church judicatories, where there were neither boots, thumbikins, fire-matches, and the neck in no danger of the bloody rope] did judicially and solemnly again and again confess his great sin, and profess his great sorrow for his separating courses, and promise amendment; and yet thereafter, at Auchinsauch above Douglass, before a great multitude of people did make confession of that confession, and profession of sorrow at that profession, and promises of amendments of that promise; such confessions, professions and promises are enough to turn all such things out of request to an unthinking world.

There is yet a subdivision of good people scattered thorow the land, who have deserted Mr. M'Millan, since king George's accession, for his representing grievances, and seeking redress of the same: these live altogether without gospel ordinances, and are very confident that they only are in the principles and practices of Christ's slain witnesses in this land; whereas there is not one party in Scotland maintaining the whole testimony against popery, prelacy, erastianism, sectarianism, schism, error, tyranny, and defections left and right hand, and whatsoever is contrair to sound doctrine and the power of godliness, handed down to us. So that it was never in such danger of being darkened and blotted, that the poor young and following ages, cannot, neither will have a right uptaking of it in all the parts thereof.

It has been some of my weary night and day's thoughts these many years, that the most part of ministers were shaped out and spirited with their left hand defections, to be stumbling blocks to people; and

these years bygone more and more in many respects, and few of them that regard it.

There are three further instances, most stumbling and offensive at the time.

First, Their homologating and complying with patronages, thereby robbing the Lord's people of their natural right and christrian liberty in calling of their own pastors in a gospel way, that for the clothing of one back, and the feeding of one intruding fleecer's belly, they will starve a thousand souls, committing the charge of souls, to soul destroyers. This is far from the exercise of great Mr. Welsh, minister of Air, who used to frequent his garden in the night-time, to wrestle with God by prayer for the poeple under his charge; and who, when challenged by his wife for being so unmerciful to his body, answered, ''Tis otherwise with me than with you: for I have the charge of three thousand souls whom I must answer for, and know not how it may be with many of them.' And some other godly painful ministers have doubted if there was a minister got heaven, considering their charge, and how far short they come; and that serious, zealous, tender souls, desire and design to evidence themselves to be of Christ's sheep, not to follow or hear such strangers, violently thrust in upon them in such a strange way, not by the door of Christ's orderly appointment. Mr. Shields and other great men assert, 'That wrong entries is a sufficient ground of disowning, and withdrawing from all such. Many have heard what censuring honest ministers have gotten, and are getting, for their pitying and sympathizing with tender parents, in their very melancholy circumstances, for baptizing their children. and of late it is proposed and pressed in the synod of Merse and Teviotdale, for an act against all the elders giving testificates and tokens at sacraments, thereby to deprive the Lord's people, (whose souls are grieved at their backsliding courses) of their church privileges: but they must be loose principled and mean spirited elders, who would suffer themselves to be robbed of their just power, and due right and privilege, though they should make a thousand such acts. There are some of late

have written 'a cry of an owl in the desart to all elderships,' for a general correspondence, to give a general publick testimony against this unheard of step of defection; but thereby they are seeking hot water beneath cold ice. The greater part of elders, and all others who are fallen in contentedly with this backslidden, upsitten, Sardis and Laodicean church, are like the deaf adder, to all such cries and calls; as the pious, zealous Mr. John Dury, sometime minister in Dalmeny, said in public, 'Of all knaves, the knave minister and elder were the greatest.' There were many toom pulpits in Scotland, though the gowns were in them; there has been, and are many naughty and insufficient men in that office, both in principle and practice, who have none of these things either in head or heart. It is remarkable what the faithful unto a violent death, Mr. James Guthry, says in his last publick dying words: 'that he was hated for his endeavours to get the church of God purged of currupt ministers and elders;' of which there was never more need, than in this nonsuch corrupt time. The back-look, and foresight, and firm persuasion of mind, that as corrupt elders have been a plague unto this church, so there would be more constrained me, (at the revolution) with some worthy christians who signed with me, who are honestly off the stage to present to the presbytery of Linlithgow, exceptions against all such: and to protest that none guilty of our national defections should be admitted to that sacred office, without their particular publick acknowledgement of the same before the congregation, where they were ordained; which has been a great satisfaction to me ever since. There are indeed, (blessed be the Lord for it) a goodly remnant yet in Scotland, who have a good understanding of this time, seeing with both their eyes, and with one eye, and speaking with one breath; who if they were gathered together in a general correspondence, might do somewhat in keeping up a publick testimony against the wrong steps of the day: which I would take as a token for good.

Secondly, The keeping of the church of England's superstitious holy-days, imposed and appointed by the

king and his council, made up of lords spiritual and temporal; and the last General Assembly's supplicating the king for a publick national fast, and to appoint the day; which he with the advice of his council, lords spiritual and temporal, appointed to be the 17th of July 1726, as all may see in his proclamation; which was kept by all ministers, swearers and not swearers, except two, that I heard of. What a poor low pass have the church of Scotland voluntarily brought themselves unto, in giving up their church privileges? The seers of the some time renowned General Assembly of this church, in former good days, condescended upon causes of humiliation and thanksgiving, and appointed days most convenient, and sought only the civil sanction of the magistrate, to interpose their authority for the due observance of the same.

Thirdly, Our national covenants, that the serpent's brood, the Popish, Prelatical, and Malignant Faction, heaven daringly broke and burnt; and it is made criminal for any of the Lord's people to own them; and all ranks have presumptuously broken and cast them by, as almanacks out of date; and some ministers and many others, deny the indispensable and perpetually binding obligation of them. And of late some Willies with the wisps, or spunkies of wild-fire, seen mostly in boggish myrish ground, in louring, foulsome, unwholesome weather, *viz.*

An unhappy woful professor Simpson, striking at the doctrine or foundation of our christian religion, reviving old condemned errors. Some years ago, the worthy Mr. James Webster was much blamed by the most part for his opposing of him; it was then reckoned his plea. Can the world understand how it was his plea alone then, and now the church's plea? it is the same man that is venting the same erroneous tenets; but therein they may read their sin in their judgment, that now, after he has poisoned so many youths, and turned more insolent, (therein is that scripture fulfilled, that 'Evil men and seducers shall wax worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived') that they did not then, not only depose him, but give him over

to satan, whom he was then, and is serving; and crushed these unspeakable unhappy things in the bud.

And also a glazing glancing glass, who loves to hear himself speak, and the world to notice him, affecting such unheard of unhappy singularities, wherein he cannot propose or have the prospect of being useful or edifying, in our present melancholy circumstances, to any of the godly zealous of the Lord's people, but most stumbling and offensive to all such, and tending to the ruining detestable neutrality and indifferency in these great concerns, that we have expressly sworn against in these covenants, and making all the Philistines rejoice; razing the foundation or one of the chief parts of our national reformation, affirming, 'That national covenanting was peculiar to the Jews.'

How offensive, affecting, and afflicting is it to many serious zealous tender souls, who are fearing that these spunks of wild-fire, that are soon kindled, but not so easily quenched, break out into a flame? It had been better for these dangerous men, that they had never been born, or cast into the sea, than so to offend so many thousands of Christ's little ones, for whom he died. Christ's woes are heavy woes upon all by whom offences come; and blessed are they, this day, who are kept from giving and taking offences, when so abounding amongst all divided parties: and if the foundation be thus destroyed, what have the many thousand righteous persons been doing these hundred and seventy years in Scotland? (which I am sure, if ever any deserved the name of righteous since the apostles ceased out of the world, both evangelically, interpretatively, and comparatively,) building castles in the air, without a foundation on the rock of God's word; whom the Lord remarkably raised up, spirited, fitted, and endowed with graces and gifts; who reckoned it a great part of their generation work, wherein their souls rejoiced to spend and be spent, in making, renewing and pursuing the ends thereof; and to own, and adhere to, and seal these covenants with their best blood, for which they counted nothing too dear, being sensibly and discernibly strengthened, supported and comforted in doing of all: and the Lord who will not put his

seal to a blank, has discernibly ratified and sealed these covenants, in the conversion of many thousand souls, since their first entering into them; there being nothing in them, but what is morally binding, and the end and design of them, 'The glory of God, national and personal reformation.'

But this is an independent principle, abjured in these covenants, among the rest of all other Sectarian errors, whether more gross or refined.

Beside, we ought to have some regard to the many faithful contendings of some of our great, pious, and sound divines, who have asserted the perpetual obligation of them; particularly the foresaid faithful minister and martyr for Christ, Mr. James Guthry, in his last dying words, which I have by me; the famous Mr. Shields, his assertions on that head; and the late deceast Mr. Haliburton, professor of divinity in St. Andrews, and others which I design to let the world hear afterwards. And there are few that stumble and fall, that rise again.

Now is sadly come to pass, what that clear and long-sighted, never-to-be forgotten, faithful unto the death, Mr. Robert M'Ward, saw begun in the end of the year 1679, and foresaw what was to come to pass in this land, what by left-handed defections and right-hand extremes and divisions, that so confounded and filled his heart with sorrow, that brought him to the gates of death, as he expresseth himself in that letter now published without date, which he wrote in the end of that year, and which I saw passing from hand to hand in the beginning of the year 1680.

And it was this new-begun unhappy division, that made worthy Mr. Walter Smith to leave his testimony against it, that morning he got martyrdom, wherein he says, 'I was withdrawn from by some as having given offence to them, by my protesting against their way in particular, wherein I am sure they were wrong; and though they had been right, it was not a ground to have made such a separation from me, much less these that joined with me; and if any division be longer kept up upon that account, they will find it great iniquity, if rightly considered.'

And there are some yet alive, who were in Holland when the division began, and concerned in it, when it spread in Scotland, to whom Mr. M'Ward expressed the same sure grounds, weighty arguments, and piercing reasons against that and all other ill grounded separations, and did earnestly request to the contrair, with arguments such as these, That it is one of the devil's notable devices, when he cannot get the Lord's people carried to left-hand snares, by all means to fling and throw them into excesses on the right-hand extremes, that the poor remnant may run down one another with divisions, and rush into courses, however painted over at first to make them pleasant, yet in the end will prove most dangerous, yea destructive of the whole old cause of the church of Scotland: and that he told these, when he was at the gates of death, who were beginning and maintaining unwarrantable separations, that if the principle whereby they defended their practices were followed, it would not only dissolve the unity of the church, but also of the christian societies, and the whole frame of Presbyterianism be certainly destroyed; and whosoever maintains such principles and practices, he affirms they blow the fire with their breath that Christ would quench with his blood: that this way of witnessing, is such as Christ will witness against, as not his way; and that there are many other patent and obvious methods to witness against the evils of the ways of those, who have not made actual defection from the sworn-to, and sealed testimony. And he had many other free and faithful warnings, sentences and expressions, by word then, and published in print: especially against that then begun division and unwarrantable separations, which have been espoused and practised by some to this day, and I fear will outlive me: although some dissenters say, both by word and print, that it was written in the spring 1681, to evite the dint of his sure, weighty, piercing arguments against unwarantable separations; alledging, That he designed it against John Gib and his followers; but there was no fear of John Gib till the beginning of the year 1681: but that which constrained him to write

that letter, was, Pious Mr. Robert Fleming was prisoner in the tolbooth of Edinburgh in the year 1679, in the time of Bothwel-bridge. He was left in the afternoon of his day (and indeed in old age many great and good men have made wrong and foul steps) to take the wrong end of that unhappy plea, to plead for union by word and write with the indulged, although he was never actually indulged himself; he dealt earnestly with the never-to-be-forgotten, faithful unto the death, Mr. John King and Mr. John Kid, when they were under the sentence of death, that they would give a healing testimony in favours of the indulged; they answered, 'We will now write at our death, as we have professed and preached in our life.' He was liberated upon the terms of the foresaid indemnity, namely, That he should not preach at field-conventicles, these rendezvouzs of rebellion, as then called, (which was the devil's grand eye-sore, and great vexation of all his friends, and the foes of reformation) even the faithful and free preached gospel in the fields.

Mr. Robert Fleming went straight to Holland, and was settled minister in the Scots congregation in Rotterdam. He invited Mr. James Vetch one of our Scots actually-indulged to preach with him, who was there occasionally. Many of our Scots sufferers, being there fled over from the persecution here, scrupled to hear him upon the foresaid accounts. Mr. M'Ward said to Mr. Thomas Douglas and Mr. Walter Smith and others, 'It is not enough for us to separate from him so hastily; let us go hear him, and converse with him, and we will know the better what to say to him, or against him;' accordingly they went, and did both; for which Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Bogues and others, would not look upon them as formerly; which he complains of in the foresaid letter, that they had withdrawn from poor him and others upon that head: this was somewhat to withdraw from Mr. Fleming; but an unheard-of stretch, to separate from the foresaid worthies, having nothing to say more against them.

We have the parallel case in Scotland this day, putting the swearing ministers in place of the actually-indulged, which many ways are like unto them, all flowing from the poisoned fountain of Erastianism and prelatical hierarchy, both equally sworn and witnessed against thorow the periods of this church; only our late swearing ministers have more direstly submitted and complied with the usurped abjured power of prelatical hierarchy, than the actually-indulged then did, putting our not-swearers in the room of Mr. Fleming, whom they are sadly too much like unto in this respect; now these that are not separated from them, but all others who dare not withdraw from them, and will not go their length in principle and practice in these separations. I know not if ever there have been such disjoinings and separations amongst the Lord's chosen serious zealous people in any age, as have been within these forty eight years in Scotland; and when so many of them have gone and will go to heaven, since these two unhappy unheard-of dangerous principles were invented and practised, viz. That every difference of judgment in our national controversies, is a ground of separation; though no people in the world can understand them. Secondly, That there is no keeping up, or carrying on of a testimony, but by separation.

How often have I heard it said to others, within these forty-six years; and many times by those both on left and right-hand, has it been said to myself 'That if ye speak so and so we will not join you: and have been separated from, both in prison and out of prison, upright and left hand, for my different sentiments.'

The wild fire of bastard-zeal is easily kindled, but not so soon quenched again. Mr. Douglas, Mr. Smith, and Bogues returned to Scotland; but Mr. Bogues and others still maintained this debate, which was a great grief to Mr. Cargill, being so much in his company; and occasioned Mr. Thomas Douglas to leave Scotland and go to England

This debate continued until Mr. Donald Cargill, Mr. Smith and Mr. Bogues were all in the enemy's hands, and brought to Edinburgh tolbooth; then

Mr. Bogues came under a very dark cloud, and sharp challenges, especially upon this head of groundless unwarrantable separations, particularly from these singular worthies, M'Ward, Douglas, Smith and others; which obliged him to come weeping to Mr. Smith, and acknowledge his great sin, in being so hot and stiff in that unhappy debate; and also acknowledge his great offence to Mr. Cargill, in not taking his advice; and earnestly requested them both to forgive and pray for him; for, before he died in that case, he would go to the highest and deepest compliances with the enemy. Mr. Smith took him in his arms and kissed him, and said, 'I not only heartily and willingly forgive you, but will endeavor to pray for you:' which Mr. Cargill and Mr. Smith spent some part of a day of their few days they had to live in prayer for him; and before night the cloud was removed: and they all three cheerfully hung upon one gibbet with William Cuthel and William Thompson, at the cross of Edinburgh, July 27th, 1681; and their heads were all struck off together, with the hangman's bloody gully, and put upon publick ports, as afterwards (if the Lord will) I shall make plain.

Barbara Brice, and Marion Kinloch my first wife (whose names are savory to all who knew them, for two desirable christians) who lived in the parish of West-Calder, travelled twelve miles to visit these prisoners, being their acquaintances; and to them Mr. Cargill and Mr. Smith told this, because men to whom they would have told this, durst not, nor had not access to them: but especially Mr. Bogues was most particular, requesting them to tell all the Lord's people to take good heed upon what ground they separate from the godly who were not chargeable with any actual defection; for he had paid dear for what he had done in that.

I wish from my very heart, that all those of the Lord's people who are overdriven with a party spirit, and bent for separation right or wrong, would take a serious narrow look of this astonishing beacon, that I design (if the Lord spare) to set up afterwards in the publick view of all present, and to come, to be-

ware of splitting upon such dangerous rocks, which may hinder them from an easy and comfortable arriving at their desired haven or harbor. How useful would such beacons have been to many of the Lord's serious zealous people 45 years ago, and to me among the rest, in the time of John Gib's delirious delusions, which were painted and gilded over with the highest pretensions to piety, zeal and mourning for their own sins and the land's abominations; wherein I was in more danger than in all the national snares and sins since: which has made me more afraid ever since, being then very young, and somewhat of a gale of young zeal upon my spirit, fearing no danger upon the right hand if I held off the left. But that snare was discovered and broken; and I, with many others of far greater age, knowledge and experience, escaped as birds out of the snare of the fowler, by means of hearing blest Mr. Cargill publickly preach; which has endeared his name to me, upon this and other accounts, above all other ministers; of whom I hope to give a more distinct account afterwards in the passages of his life and death, which I design to publish, together with the gleanings of Mr. Renwick's life, which have escaped Mr. Shields, and Mr Shield's own life and death; and which will be my next parcel, according as I proposed in my former preface to the passages of Mr. Peden's life and death: with a short account of Mr. Smith's life and death, and twenty two steps of national defections, and twenty-four rules for the right managing of society-meetings, which he drew up a little before his death.

Nevertheless, it must be owned, that the Lord's serious, zealous and faithful ministers and people have got many great offences and stumbling-blocks laid in their way these seventy-six years bygone, considering that Christ in his interest has been upon the cross a crucifying ever since the 1649. Eleven years by treachery; the public resolutioners, in state, church and military, dealt very treacherously, to the undermining and overturning of a covenanted great work of reformation; and from the unhappy restoration 1660, for 28 years, by unheard of tyranny, manifold

and manifest defections of all ranks; and since the revolution, by unfaithful mismanagements, consulting and racking the rules of carnal state policy: and these 20 years past, our covenants have gotten deadly wounds, and been laid in the grave, by the demented, infatuate, black bargain of union, toleration, and patronages; and the swearing ministers have heartily and willingly, without either boots, thumbikins or firematches, or any hazard to the neck by the bloody rope, shooled on the grave-moulds. O that all the Lord's people would come and see, and ly at this grave, and weep, sigh and mourn, cry and pray for a merciful resurrection, which I sadly fear to be longer than the long 20 years that the ark abode at Kirjathjearim. And have we not all ground to cry out this day in Scotland, Ichabod, Ichabod, the glory is departed from this land, the power and blessings of the gospel restrained, and the wonted fruits and comfortable effects do not now appear; a reforming covenanting spirit, the serious and solid practice of christianity, is almost gone out of request, which was the glory of our nation; so that the most part of ministers and professors are in the greatest danger of professing and confessing, preaching and praying themselves further and further from the heart-affecting knowledge, and soul-transforming belief of all truths: and all these great revelations and manifestations of the Lord are like to become as idle tales to us; they are in the heads and mouths of many, but in the hearts of a very few. I wish from my very heart, that all the Lord's people would bethink and take heed to themselves in this non-such perilous juncture of time, and in good earnest examine their knowledge and faith, what they believe, and upon what foundation they build and rest; and profess and confess, preach and pray no more with their mouths, than what they believe with their hearts, and are affected with, and practise. The faith of devils is a great mystery to the greater part of preachers and prayers; but oh and alas! the general slight and easy way that the most part content themselves with flows mainly from our want of a thorow conviction of our original guilt, or lost state by nature; we go not near, nor stay we

long enough at mount Sinai, scarce to hear the thunderings and see the lightnings, but haste to mount Zion, and there lick ourselves whole of our scarce skin-deep wounds; conversion goes no deeper nor further than conviction goes. These things give ground of fears, that many, both ministers and professors in this age, will make Saul's testament, saying, 'We are sore distrest, and the conquering Philistine death is come upon us, and we have no strength; and the worst comes last, that God is departed from us and answereth us no more.'

And our not-swearers stood, and were witness to all this, and have been very sparing of setting the trumpets that the Lord put in their hands, to the mouths which God hath given to them, to cry aloud of Treachery, murder and robbery; Treachery, to such a great trust transmitted to them, by such treasure of expense; Murder, of a covenanted great work of reformation; Robbery, robbing of a young uprising generation, if not generations, of all these precious jewels of a sworn-to, and sealed testimony.

All may know, that ambiguous doctrine, and not making application, in not discovering and giving warning of publick snares and sins of the day, are deeply censurable by the standing acts and laws of this church; and it has been the saying of some great men 'That a minister might preach sound doctrine all his days, and never be accounted a faithful minister, that does not discover and give warning of the national snares and sins of their time. The height, depth, breadth and length of these new begun courses of national defections, union, toleration, patronages, and bundle of Erastian prelatical oaths, required a plain positive testimony, thereby to break the ice, and give a good example to all present and to come. It served to the perpetual commendation of that man of God, who went to Bethel, and gave a faithful testimony against that new course of defection, invented and furiously driven on by cursed Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who caused all Israel to sin. I have sometimes heard the never-to-be forgotten Mr. Shields say, 'We are much obliged to our worthy ancestors; and shall

none be the better of us? if we have no precedent or example let us be good ones to them who come after us.'

But if we shall forsake all that handful of non-swearers for this lamentable defect, to what place of the whole world, or to whom shall we go? where will we find their equals, or any to outstrip them in grace, gifts, learning, doctrine and practice? it was one of the sayings of worthy John Livingstoun, a sailor in Borrowstounness, and which he said to myself, 'That when he was any time at home, he saw many defects and faults amongst us; but when he went abroad into another nation, he thought there was a goodly number in Scotland, without either spot or wrinkle: and if the Lord in his sovereignty shall take away only as many as he has swept off the stage these few years bygone, viz. Mr. Haliburton professor of divinity at St. Andrews, Mr. Webster in Edinburgh, Mr. Brisbane in Stirling, Mr. Muir in Tulliallian, Mr. Cuthbert in Culross, Mr. Plenderleith in Saline, Mr. Bathgate in Orwell, Mr. Simpson in Morebattle, Mr. Reid in Luchrutton, Mr. Wright in Kilmarnock, and Mr. Boyd in Port-patrick, they must be clear and far-sighted, to see one coming up to fill their room; and if any would, all doors are shut against them.

Great Durham says, 'Before he were the member of no church, he would rather be a member of a corrupt church;' and great Mr. M'Ward, in that foresaid letter requests all to consider what length now glorified Mr. Brown and he went in the history of the indulgence; and we saw it impossible to go a further length, retaining Presbyterian principles, on which we founded our withdrawing from the indulged. And Mr. Cargill and Mr. Cameron, before they lifted the fallen standard of the gospel in the year 1689, 'dealt earnestly with the not-indulged, to go and take part with them in that work. And Mr. Cargill preached at Lothian-hill, upon the 5th May 1681, on that text, 'Weep not for me;' in the end of that forenoon, gave warning of the snares and sins of John Gib, and some with him, who said to Mr. Cargill's self, 'that they did not want ministers, and that it

was never better with them than since they parted with all of them;' he said, 'Oh for the Lord's sake pray for faithful ministers to yourselves, and never content yourselves at all without them: for ye will not continue long sound in the faith, and straight in the way, if ye want faithful guides.' And Mr. James Renwick said several times to myself, and in my hearing to others, 'That though the world reckoned him very wild, yet he never durst preach withdrawing from all the ministers of Scotland, for many might get good of them, that did not know about them what he knew.' And Mr. Shields said to me at our last parting at Edinburgh, before he went abroad, 'Although ye have many naughty ministers in this church, yet ye have some worthy men; cleave to the best, for it is not only dreadfully dangerous to separate from all, but utterly unwarrantable, and cannot be defended; wait on, for I am perswaded there is somewhat coming upon this church, that will pull you out of doubts of withdrawing from the most part.'

Whatever be the sad effects and consequences of these unhappy, dangerous, positive disownings and separations of these foresaid dissenters, to blot and darken that testimony against tyranny and defections left and right hand, and to make Christ's faithful witnesses in that day, lightly esteemed in the present and following ages; yet Mr. Wodrow exceeds all, being the authentic historian in that period.

It needs not be surprising to any, what Arminian, blasphemous, and perjured prelate Burnet was guilty of; whom yet Mr. Wodrow calls an ornament to his native country: he and all such have been a plague to the church of Scotland, but never an honour to the nation; for he being a Scotsman born, and having lived for many years in it, yet says in his history, 'That all the Lord's people that followed the gospel in the fields were struck with an enthusiastick frenzy, and a tumultuary, enthusiastick, strange spirit of fury had broke loose on some Presbyterians, called Cargillites, who were much followed, to the great reproach of the nation: Cameron, one of their

furious teachers was killed: and at the same time, Hackstoun and Cargill were taken:' which is a gross lie; Mr. Cargill was not taken for a year thereafter. He says, 'When Hackstoun's hands were cut off, he was in such enthusiastick rapture, that he enquired if they were to cut off his feet also:' which is another base lie; for when the hangman hashed so long at his right-hand, he desired him to strike on the joint of the left for his own ease; as some yet alive who were witnesses to it, can assert. Prelate Burnet says further, 'Cargill and many others of that mad set suffered with such obstinacy, that though the duke of York sent a pardon to the scaffold to Isabel Alison and Marion Harvie, who suffered the 26th of January 1681, if they would pray for the king, yet they would not accept of it:' which is a manifest lie, as some yet alive can witness. He says further, 'That about 15 or 16 died under that enthusiastick madness of which he says Cargill was one. Napthali and the cloud of witnesses bear witness of how many fifteens and sixteens died.' He says also, 'That the duke of York stopt this persecution, and appointed them to be put in the correction-house, and kept at hard labor:' this is another brutish lie; there was none of the sufferers put in the correction-house: some few women who followed John Gib, were sent there for a short time, and that persecution lasted seven years thereafter. All these gross lies and malignant sentences are to be found in two or three pages of his history lately published.

But it may be, and will be surprizing, stumbling and offensive to all thorow-paced presbyterians in principle and practice, who are well versed in the faithful contendings thorow the periods of this church, especially in our last period of persecution, upon which Mr. Wodrow writes, to find him a toping leading Scots presbyterian, in such gross mistakes, misrepresentations, and groundless, slanderous reflections upon the faithful followers of the Lamb, giving them so many nicknames, as 'Cameronians, society-people, the warm party, the warmer sort, warm hot persons, the violent party, high-flyers;' transmitting their con-

tendings against defections of all kinds, and testimonies which they sealed with their blood, under the name of heights, heats, excesses, extremes, and flights: and not only this, in both his volumes, of Mr. Donald Cargill, Mr. Renwick, Mr. Cameron, and other ministers, who were hunted as partridges in the wilderness, and the united society-people, who were for some years as sheep without a shepherd: but also of our banished worthies, masters Brown, M'Ward, Livingstoune, and others, whose books he was not worthy to carry; who were helped and honoured of the Lord to be faithful in their life and death, and give warning by their pens of the snares and sins of that day, especially indulgencies, cess-paying, &c. saying 'These wrote with warmness, and this came from Holland, and this came over the seas.' But this is the foulsom unwholesome air he has lived in, being over-run and over-driven with the backsliding spirit of the day.—But whatever his unhappy groundless reflexions are, I have often thought thorow my life, that it was a remarkably merciful dispensation, (as the selling of Joseph into Egypt) the banishing of these foresaid worthies out of their native land; the enemies meant it for ill, but the Lord turned it for good, considering how much of time they have spent in praying for the church of Scotland and her sufferers, how useful they were with their pens, what influence they had upon all men who savoured of religion, and built in Holland (as it were) a sanctuary for all sufferers who fled there, being men of such piety and parts; whereby we were more obliged to the prayers and purses of Holland, than all the world besides known to me. It is not worth my while to insert all the passages, with such sentences and expressions, wherein such gross mistakes, misrepresentations are to be found in Mr. Wodrow's history; if he or any other shall deny or contradict any of them, I have a note of them by me, and am ready to instruct them.

I. He says in his preface, 'That the happy improvement presbyterians made of York's toleration, tended much to the strengthening of the protestant interest.

Answ. Let the unbiassed world judge how far contrair to presbyterian principles, and the testimonies of this church, the addressing for, and accepting of it in such terms, were: to do ill that good may come of it, is neither honesty nor true policy; which was, and is one of the chief causes of God's wrath against this land.

II. He challenges De Foe, the author of the Scotch memoirs, of uncommon ignorance, in saying that the highlanders were in the South and West of Scotland, sometime after Bothwel.

Answ. There are many thousands yet alive can witness from their sad experience, that there were 1000 highlanders, in the month of March 1685, six years after Bothwel, who were sent to the South and West of Scotland (it being killing time) to assist the forces, they being more swift of foot, to run through bog and moss, hill and glen, to apprehend the sufferers, than the standing forces, who were turned fat and lazy with free quartering, and strong feeding upon the ruins of the Lord's people: as also these highlanders were brought to the west, to rob and plunder, and to frighten people, more especially women and children, by their strange uncouth language, not knowing whether they were to kill them or save them alive: which is a great aggravation of a judgment. And what great murder and robbery they committed these three months that they were in the south and west of Scotland, there is one instance (amongst many that I could give) which I cannot pass: when they came south thorow the parish of Morrinside, the curate there, Mr. Andrew Ure, informed them of worthy Peter Gilles; who lived in that parish, who apprehended him with John Brice who lived in the parish of Westcalder; and when they went thorow the parish of Carluke, they apprehended William Finneson and Thomas Young who lived there, whom the laird of Lee's footmen apprehended, on whom they exercised great cruelty: They carried those four prisoners to Machlon, and apprehended one John Binning waiting upon cattle, without either stocking or shoe, and took their bibles from them, and would suffer none either to sell them or lend them bibles (the

first four were my very dear acquaintances) and hanged them all upon one gibbet without suffering them to pray at their death; and their corpses were buried upon the spot, and upon the grave stone this inscription was written:

Bloody Dumbarton, Douglass, and Dundee,
Mov'd by the devil and the laird of Lee,
Drag'd these five men to death with gun and sword,
Not suffering them to pray, nor read God's word
Owning the work of God, was all their crime;
The eighty-five was even a killing time.

Whatever the aforesaid author was himself, yet he wrote impartially in our Scotch affair, wherein he was rightly informed, being a stranger, born (as they said) in England, of French parents. He was indeed misinformed that the indulgences was a contrivance of the bishops; for though they sat then in council, and could not get it opposed, being the king's orders, contrived by John duke of Lauderdale upon such and such terms; yet it grieved them that any favour should be shown to presbyterians (however clogged) and not the whole of them cut off. De Foe was also misinformed in the circumstances of Drumclog, which occasioned the rise of Bothwel bridge, and the relieving of the prisoners at Enterkin path in the beginning of August 1684.

III. Mr. Wodrow says, 'It was the violence of the persecution that drove some people to extremes and wildness.'

Answ. He might have put the saddle upon the right horse; it was the defections, silence and unfaithfulness of ministers and professors, that much prevailed with John Gib and others with him, to run in these extremes, as some of them yet alive can witness. But more of this afterwards, if the Lord will.

IV. He says, 'That ministers leaving their people, and being faint in owning their commissions to preach the gospel, gave the first handle to people, out of their ignorant scrupulosity, to censure ministers; but this temper run higher afterwards, to censure them, carry as it they could.'

Answ. Ministers leaving their people, and silence after the unhappy restoration, was indeed very stumbling and offensive to the Lord's children; and several of these ministers that did so, did lament it to their dying day, and reckoned it among the causes of God's wrath; as Mr. Shields and others sometimes said on fast days, that the tout of a horn over the cross of Edinburgh blew most ministers out of their pulpits.

V. He says, 'That nothing is more certain than that all the people willingly received the indulged ministers when they came back; these indulged were required to do ill, but did it not; and that the whole ministers pitched upon by the council were willing to accept and had the consent of their brethren; the whole presbyterians thorow Scotland cheerfully submitted to their ministry.'

Answ. This is another gross mistake, and not matter of fact; Mr. Donald Cargill, was in the list, and did not accept, and lived and died witnessing against it; and many worthy christians lived and died the same way, and several ministers preached against the indulgence as a step of defection, though not separation from the indulged, whose names I could instance; and in particular some of the elders and others of the parish of Evandale did protest against their entering there, and many of my very dear acquaintances did never hear them, but were well seen in the snare and sin from the very beginning. And whoever writes upon this present period, has as good ground to say, that the whole ministers and professors in Scotland were well pleased with these unhappy oaths, when there was a representation of the ills of these oaths, and a protestation against ministers complying with them, given in to the synod of Glasgow and presbytery of Lanerk, with upwards of three hundred subscribers: but all knows that in the time of persecution we had not judicatories, that people could give representations and protestations to.

VI. He says further, 'That matters continued thus, until some of the banished ministers in Holland, upon some misinformations wrote over some letters and reasons with warmness against joining with the in-

dulged; this began a flame, which by degrees rose to a very great height.'

Answ. Messrs. Brown, M'Ward, Livingstone, and others, did not take such weighty things upon trust, nor wrote at random, but lived and died writing and speaking with one and the same breath.

VII. He confidently affirms, 'That the Lord eminently countenanced these indulged in their ministry; and that they found as great assistance in the work of the gospel as ever, and their success was not small.'

Answ. This is the very reverse of the thoughts, sentiments and perswasions of some ministers, and many worthy solid old Christians, both in their life and at their death, both in Scotland and Ireland, who were in Scotland at that time, that from the time that they fell a gaping after that way, and tampering with these enemies of God and godliness, their graces languished, and they were made to toil in the dead exercise of their gifts. These have been the observations and sayings of many tender zealous christians thorow the periods of this church, as the fruits and effects of doing violence to light, and making defection in a day of trial, which made them by degrees abandon their practical personal tenderness which appeared to neutral spectators: and some of these indulged ministers, whom I could name, when dying, confessed that from the time they were taken in that snare, it was never with them as it was formerly; and doubted if they had been the instruments of the edifying of one soul; and that they were sure God would never honour them to be the instruments of any public good, for what they had done and left undone. And many people who heard them at first, when they came out, and heard the persecuted gospel in the fields, did find it to have another sort of relish and sweetness; which made many to forsake them. The parallel case we have this day in Scotland, the difference betwixt the swearing ministers and not swearers, which I refer to the experience of many serious solid christians, as some of them have told me.

VIII. 'That this year 1685, he finds the presbyterians much troubled with one Houston, who came

from Ireland, and joined the society people, who was deposed there for his irregularities.'

Answ. If he had known what contradiction and opposition Mr. David Houston met with from many of the society people, to which I was a witness and active, he would have saved himself the trouble of inserting his name, to get a reflection upon the society people. However far wrong that man was in his head, many of his sayings have had a sad accomplishment. I remember about the time king William landed in England, he was praying earnestly in publick, That the Lord would make his army successful, and honour him to be the instrument of our deliverance from tyranny, and put a stop to the flood gate of popery, that it might not overspread this land: and that he would stop them of their designed massacre. 'But oh, good Lord, (said he) if it be so, keep back the unhappy 'hands of the Holland midwives from the delivery of 'our kirk; erastianism, erastianism has been the 'plague of this church: and prevent our fears that it 'be not more and more so.' However, when I was in Ireland, I was credibly informed, that he gave many evidences of his dying well: he had a brother called Mr. William, who was guilty of many bad things; and many of his unhappy things, are charged upon Mr. David by mistake.

IX. He says, 'That all agreed that acceptance of the indulgence was no ground of separation.'

Answ. 'Tis a lamentable truth, that too many agreed to that; but it is an untruth, that all agreed; for many instances might be given in the contrary, and ministers and professors names might be inserted.

X. He says, 'What could they propose to themselves by preaching against the indulgence, but the raising of a flame?'

Answ. What, had they not the word of Christ's patience to keep in that hour of temptation, in asserting that he was a king, now when his kingly prerogatives were invaded by the usurper, and complied with by their acceptance of the indulgence? and in following the noble example of their renowned ancestors, particularly masters Welsh and Forbes, when under the sentence

of death upon the same head, as is to be found in the fulfilling of the scripture: and the pious, zealous, and faithful unto the death, Mr. Andrew Melvil, in the very beginning, when king James VI. unhappily laid the foundation of many mischiefs that have followed since, and began to make encroachments; Mr. James Melvil and Mr. Andrew, and others, were sent to him, to tell him the sin and danger to himself, church and nation, of such and such courses: when Mr. James began to speak in his mild manner, he would not hear him; but offering to leave them, Mr. Andrew took him by the sleeve, and desired him to stand and hear what they had to say, calling him God's vassal; and said further, 'Sir, when ye was in your swadling clothes, Christ reigned freely in this land, his ministers and servants did then in his name what they ought to do; and now, when you are come to your kingdom, will ye take it upon you to make encroachments? I have often told you that there are two distinct kingdoms, of one whereof Christ is the head, and K. James VI. is only a silly member.'

XI. He says, 'Happy had it been for this poor church, if they had remained united in their first ways.'

Ans. This had been a great piece of unhappiness, if they had all conspired together, and the testimony lame; and that ever they were united that way is false, and their first ways nonsense.

XII. But when love cooled, people who ought to have been learners, set up for teachers; yea, they turned managers and directors to ministers; and, ere all was done, some of them offered rules, even as to the matter, subjects, and the very text they would have them preach upon; and some ministers fell in with these people, and acted entirely under their direction, and then the flame broke out terribly.

Ans. This way of writing is an holding evidence, that Mr. Wodrow had no experience of a suffering lot, nor serious thoughts about it: this implicit faith, and way of working, would have made melancholy suffering, when hard came to hard, of boots, thumbikins and fire-matches, the bloody rope to the neck, and

bullets to the head; as many of these singularly worthy ministers and people endured, with joy, gladness and rejoicing in the Lord, the God of their salvation. The blest Cargill taught us otherwise, a very little before his falling into the enemies' hands, from that text, *The devil is come down, having great wrath;* wherein he asserted, That though the devil's wrath was great, yet it would be greater in his short time of persecution: but to all of us, who resolved to endure his wrath, and ride out this storm, there were three things absolutely necessary to make them comfortable sufferings. 1st. An assurance of our interest in Christ.—2dly. The knowledge of the goodness of the cause for which we suffered. 3dly. To be conscious of our own integrity that it was not for our sin or fault that enemies run; this would give us confidence to cry to the Lord, to awake and meet us with his help: to turn back, was not the way to obtain these; and to go forward, would be heaviness. I had the unspeakable happiness (though most unworthy) to be reckoned among the high-fliers of that time, and was much in their company, and let into the secrets of these worthy ministers and christians; yet I seriously declare, I never heard nor saw the least sign or evidence of these lying foolish stories that he fills up his volumes with; but upon the contrary, if it had been possible to have plucked out our own eyes, and given them to these ministers, our love to them and reverence of them was greater than in the least to impose upon them, or be uneasy to them any manner of way.

XIII. He says, 'That it was very rare, if ever, any field-meetings were kept within parishes where the indulged were fixt and settled.

Ans. This was a gross mistake, and not matter of fact: there were indeed too many, that would not preach, baptize, nor marry out of their parishes, as Mr. David Home, Mr. George Johnston, and some few others of these who preached in the fields; but the greater part preached wherever people called them, baptized and married, without making any question whether curate or indulged; and, in lieu of many places, that might be instanced where the persecuted

gospel was preached, that known place Darmeid, betwixt Clydsdale and Lothian, compassed round with indulged, as Mr. Knox in the east in the parish of West-Calder, Mr. Curray in the north in the Shoats, Mr. Veilot and Mr. Kid in the west in Cambusnethen and Carluke, and Mr. Greig in the south in Carstairs.

XIV. He says, 'The banished ministers in Holland wrote warmly against the paying of the cess; and such ministers here, who were of their sentiments, preached against the paying of it; and some of the hearers violently pressed ministers to preach against it.'

Ans. It was a convention of estates that imposed that cess, declaring in the narrative of the act, the end for which it was uplifted, to wit: The strengthening of tyranny, by raising more forces; for banishing the gospel out of the land; and for suppressing the field-conventicles, rendezvouses of rebellion, as then called; and murdering the preachers and followers of the gospel: and it is commonly said, That Lauderdale, who had the publick management of affairs for many years, proposed and pressed that narrative; and when it was objected against, that it would stop all people from paying of it, to let them know the end, he said, He should have all Scotland perjured, as he had perjured himself. Our banished ministers abroad and at home wanted no violent pressing to write and preach against it; the Lord in mercy, gave them both sight and sense of that, and all other national snares and sins of that time; it was one of the three heads, upon which Mr. Renwick cheerfully suffered all his veins to be emptied of his precious blood, his disowning the duke of York to be lawful king of Britain, and the lawfulness and duty of defensive arms, and the sin of paying of the cess; and he said, Such a testimony was worth many lives. But what or who these people were, that took the confidence, or rather the impudence, violently to press these ministers, is unknown to me: but this is another lying, foolish, made-up story. He wastes time and paper, giving an account of old Quintin Dick, one of his dawties, how he was cleared in

paying of it, by his Balaam-like prayers. I knew more of Quintin Dick and James Gray, whom he speaks so meikle of, than he did, being in prison with them.—He makes use of that unhappy argument, which was much tossed in that time by these who had more pawky wit and policy than honesty, That the not paying of it did strengthen the enemy's hand more than paying, considering how much enemies robbed for not paying. He gives one instance of Gilbert M'Michan, an heritor in New-Glenluce, how long a party of Claverhouse's troops lay upon him in a free quarters, and how much they took away with them; but that was his suffering, not his sin: he is yet alive, and does neither repent that, nor want it. I hope to let the world see the weighty and holding arguments against paying of it, wrote by our banished worthies, especially Mr. M'Ward.

XV. He says, 'That about this time, matters were running to very sad heights among some of the field-meetings; and until this spring, 1679, nothing of unsafe doctrine could be charged upon field-preachers; indeed separation and schism from the indulged violently inculcated! yea, some of them did openly threaten, that they would insult the indulged ministers, if they met with them; upon which, some of them found it needful to retire from their houses.'

Ans. It was two years before this, that some ministers did preach separation from the indulged, and many, from the 1669, that the first indulgence was embraced, did preach against the indulgence, though not separation from the indulged; and many of the Lord's people did withdraw from the first, they having changed their head and holding, and become ministers of the king and council, lords spiritual and temporal, having come under their restrictions and injunctions, and terms upon which they were to enjoy that liberty, and leaving their brethren in the storm, to be destroyed by the destroyers of that time; and for receiving their missions from them to such and such parishes, thereby intruding themselves, without the consent or call of the people, or legal settlement by Presbyteries; and the councils transporting them from one

parish to another at pleasure, and sometimes two together to one parish, as Mr. Knox and Mr. Weir to West-Calder; but Mr. Weir, for his preaching up Christ's headship over the church, was quickly turned off. By these steps, the prelatical curates had more of the face of a church than they could pretend to. Although, upon these and other sufficient grounds, ministers did preach against them, and people did separate from them; yet all the high fliers (as he calls them) that ever I heard of, or spoke with, were so far from insulting or wronging their persons and goods, that they loved and esteemed them as good men: but this is a viperous, groundless, wicked story, raised at that time, not by enemies, but by them and their favourites, and now transmitted to ages in his history, that our most faithful ministers and people were not only wild in their principles, but bloody and murdering; and that our most faithful ministers were Jesuits, as masters Kid, Renwick, and others; which they were obliged to vindicate themselves from, in their dying words; and that they were factious, divisive and seditious, and the people of murdering principles; and all this to take away their good name, to bespatter their contendings and grounds of their sufferings, and to make all contemptible to following generations.

XVI. By the proclamation of the terms of the third indulgence, July 4th, 1679, to all ministers who preached at field conventicles, only one minister to one parish, and that parish to give in their names to the privy-council, with security for their peaceable behaviour, and to present them when called for, under the penalty of six thousand merks; and that all ministers in prison for preaching at field conventicles, are to be liberated, they enacting themselves in the council-books for their peaceable behaviour, and that they shall not preach at field-conventicles; Mr. Wodrow says, 'It is plain this was one of the least clogged favours granted Presbyterians since the restoration; and 'tis very probable this indulgence would have been so managed, as to have cured our divisions, and tended to a most comfortable change in Scotland, and was of great use to the church.'

Ans. This indulgence lasted only one month; and the never to be forgotten, faithful unto the death, Mr. Brown and Mr. M'Ward did discover to the world the clogs, snares, sin and defection of this indulgence, in that piece of their's, called Banders disbanded, yet in the hands of many; and Mr. Cargill, in that now published letter in the Cloud of witnesses, that he wrote to some friends, when he went to Holland, immediately after the murdering of masters King and Kid, says, That these things, which many are looking upon as favours, are but come to bind men in bundles for a fire! I am sure if these things be embraced, there shall not be long time for using them; and this last of their favours and snares is sent to men, to shew that they are that, which otherwise they will not confess themselves to be. Tell all, that the shelter and benefit of this shall neither be great nor long, but the snare of it shall be great and prejudicial. The pious and faithful unto the death, Mr. John Kid (who suffered with Mr. King, the 14th day of the same month of August, at the cross of Edinburgh when these little-clogged favours, as Mr. Wodrow calls them, were granted to accepters, upon the terms foresaid) said in his dying words, That though there be great appearance for spreading and preaching the gospel, yet he feared there was a snare at the bottom, and poison in the dish, which may gender and be productive, not only of greater scarcity of honest preaching and preachers, but a real famine of the word; which sadly came to pass, as I intend afterwards to make plain.

XVII. He says, 'Upon the eighth day of August, six days before the public murdering of the foresaid worthy ministers and martyrs, there was a more numerous meeting of Presbyterian ministers than any since judicatories were discharged, wherein they concluded, That all who after were to be licensed to preach, be particularly taken obliged unto subjection to the meetings who licensed them, and to submit themselves to their discretion, to prevent any hazard from persons who shall afterwards be licensed.'

Ans. The reverend and great Mr. M'Ward would not allow this meeting the name of a Presbyterian meet-

ing, but an Erastian synagogue; and it was these unhappy conclusions that barred the door upon all who designed and desired to be found faithful in declaring the whole council of God, and keeping nothing back that might be useful and edifying to the Lord's people; it was these conclusions that obliged Mr. James Renwick and others to go abroad to other churches for ordination, which was so much quarrelled by the Erastian and lukewarm of that day.

XVIII. Mr. Wodrow says, 'that the singular steps Mr. Donald Cargill took toward the end of his course, were as much to be attributed to the regard he had to the sentiments of others, as to his own inclinations.'

Ans. What ground has he for this foolish-fancied opinion? Mr. Cargill being an old, singular, experienced, confirmed, established christian and minister, in his last dying words, within eight hours of his bloody murder he says, His preaching had occasioned persecution; but the want of it, he feared, would occasion worse: however, he had preached truth; and as he had believed, so had he preached, and had not an ill conscience in preaching truths, whatever has followed; and this day he was to seal with his blood all that ever he had preached: and that he had followed holiness, and taught truth, and had been most in the main things; not that he thought the things in our time little, but he thought that none could do any thing to purpose in God's great and publick matters, till they were right in their own conditions. (O that all had taken this method! there had been fewer apostasies in the land) and that there was a small remnant in Scotland that his soul had its greatest comfort on earth from: and that his soul would be exceedingly troubled anent that remnant, were it not that he thought the time would be short; wherefore hold fast, for this is the way that is now persecuted: and wished their increase in holiness, number, love, religion and righteousness; and bade them wait, and cease to contend with these men that are gone from us, for nothing will convince them but judgment. Satisfy your consciences, and go forward; for the nearer you are to God, and the further from all others;

whether stated enemies, or lukewarm ministers, or professors, it shall be better.

XIX. He says, 'That Mr. James Renwick was led into tenets and heights, and entirely led by his followers, instead of leading them; and which otherwise he would not have gone into.' And when he gives an account of his death, he says, 'had not this good man been overdriven by several of the people he was embarqued with, he would not have run the length he went; and had he been alive at the revolution, I make no question but he would have come in with Mr. Shields, and joined with the establishment of this church, and might have been a very useful instrument in her: but after the death of Mr. Cargil, he joined himself with a party who cast off the king's authority, and set up on a lay distinct from the principles and practice of Presbyterians since the reformation.'

Ans. In short (for I am wearied in contradicting his lies and groundless stories, and answering nonsense) what are those tenets he was led into, and the heights that he was driven to by his followers, either in principle or practice, but what he owns and refers himself unto in the Informatory vindication, and Testimony against the toleration, when under sentence of death, and none to lead or overdrive him, none having access to him, except his mother and two sisters within three hours of his death; and no doubt they would speak little to him, their hearts being filled with grief for his death. I know none now upon the stage was more in his company and converse, nor more concerned about him than I was; and yet I ingenuously declare, I never found him alter in one jot (even after I was absent from him by fourteen months imprisonment) I found him always where I left him, speaking with the same breath he died with, against tyranny, and defections of all kinds, both of right and left hand; neither ever heard I of any that seemed in the least to impose upon him, except one man and a woman, who challenged him for a particular which they thought laxness: I never heard him answer any with so much shortness and sharpness, saying, 'Let alone,

for I will be led by the nose with none; I have my principles and practices to answer for, and all to seal with my blood in the end.' And if he had been led into any tenets, or driven to any heights, that he could not have looked devils, men, death and eternity in the face with, he would not have in his last words said, Farewell sweet societies, and desirable general meetings, and that there was nothing on earth that he was sorry to leave but us. And Mr. Kid in his last words says, That these who were most branded with singularity, will be found to have been most single. Mr. Cameron was suddenly cut off, and got nothing left behind him: what influence the revolution-dispensation might have had upon Mr. Renwick, cannot be determined; he was fallible and changeable, as other men; but according to his principles and conclusions, laid down in the Informatory vindication, there is ground to conclude, that he would have taken part with the humble pleaders for the good old way, in a legal method. As for the party he joined with, after the death of Mr. Cargill, their disowning the king's tyranny, and settling upon a lay distinct from the principles and practices of Presbyterians since the reformation; it is fully vindicated in the Hind let loose, Informary vindication, Testimony against toleration, and other public testimonies, wherein they have more to say in defence of these principles and practices, than Mr. Wodrow and all the world has to say against them.

XX. He says, 'That Mr. Smith, who suffered with Mr. Cargill, at his last, spoke without that heat and those heights he discovered in the former part of his life.'

Ans. What are those heats and heights, but what are to be found in the two and twenty steps of defection, which he drew up a very little before his bloody death, at the desire of societies in Clydsdale, and which he owns within eight hours of his death, and refers his judgment to, in our national controversies; which I have by me, with some few remarkable things in his life.

XXI. He says, ‘ As for such who have left testimonies behind them, I am apt to think, they were straitned in prisons, irons, and hindered from a full pondering of what they left behind them: and others of them, who were not in case to draw papers themselves, had their testimonies written by some of the warmer sort of their way, and approved of the draught when read to them.’

Ans. I had the happiness of being in prison in killing-time, when prisons were more throng than ever, even in Dunottar-castle, where eightscore and eight of us were driven into one vault; and yet I never saw throngness nor irons marr any from writing; and though there were many that suffered in that time, and some who could not write, were obliged to employ others, yet they dictated every word to them that were writing: so that this is another groundless, idle story; which I can assert. Mr. Wodrow, out of his ignorance, and want of experience, writes of suffering, and of embracing of the bloody rope, as if it were bairns-play; but now there is ground not only to fear, but also to conclude from what they have done and left undone these many years bygone, and from the breath they speak and write with, (if they get not another spirit) that the greater part, both of ministers and professors, give but the old price, and find no bones in prelacy, nor get a sufficient ground to state their sufferings upon, on this side of black Popery, as long as they have either soul or conscience to mortgage in the case; and if these would not do, to sell all out of the ground.

XXII. He says, ‘ That Archibald Stewart sailor in Borrowstounness, who suffered with John Potter, at the cross of Edinburgh, the first day of December, 1681, (whose heads were fixed upon the West-port) said, when before the council, that it was lawful to kill the king, or any of his council.

Ans. See his own dying words to the contrair, where he says, ‘ That however I and that suffering remnant ‘ be misrepresented, that we are of murdering princi- ‘ ples; yet it is a malicious untruth and forged calum- ‘ ny, which enemies and the indulged have raised,

'more like themselves and their principles: and it is 'a forged lie, that I said before the council, That it 'was lawful to kill the king or any of his council.' Mr. Wodrow says the same of William Gogar, Christopher Millar, and Robert Sangster, (Stirling-shire men) who suffered in the Grass market of Edinburgh, March 11th, 1681; who say the contrair, in their last joint dying words, 'That the suffering remnant and 'we are maliciously reproached, as if we were of bloo-'dy principles: but all should beware of speaking 'these things; for the contrair is known, that they are 'not murderers, neither have they any such intentions 'to kill any, except in defence of the gospel and their 'own lives.' And let the thinking world be judge, whether the dying words of these glorified martyrs, whom the Lord helped and honoured to be faithful unto the death, or the writings of these bloody murderers, who were given up of God to work all abominations with greediness, children of the devil (like their father) that do not stand to invent and write lies, are most to be regarded: and if Mr. Wodrow had regarded the testimonies of martyrs, and stooped so low as to notice their dying sentences and expressions, he would not have insert these malicious untruths; and if all these glorified shining saints, whom he with his pen endeavours to make black, were upon the stage, with their tongues in their heads, and pens in their hands, they would make his name and history to stink and be contemptible to all ages.

XXIII. He says, 'That Cornelius Anderson, who was under sentence of death with other seven sufferers, and who became hangman to the rest, died in a few days of a distraction.'

Ans. He is misinformed here; the world knows what great sufferings that singular christian, William Sutherland, a Highland man, who was hangman in Air at that time, did undergo for refusing to be their executioner. Upon December the 27th, 1666, in the morning, the magistrates came into prison, and said, 'This day you are all to die; if any of you will undertake to be executioner to the rest, he shall have his life.' The foresaid Cornelius said, 'If the rest would

forgive him, he would do it.' They answered, 'If he did it, they should wish him repentance and forgiveness.' The magistrates gave him drink, and kept him tozy until the murder was over. When he came off the gibbet, the boys and others stoned him out of the town. The report ran faster than his feet could carry him, his conscience troubling him, and every person disdaining him, he went to Ireland, where he was no better; nobody would give him either work or lodging. He built a little house in some common place near Dublin, where he, and it, and all were burnt to ashes. I had this account from severals in Ireland, especially from that worthy Christian woman (who was witness to that murder, and spoke several times with these martyrs, when under sentence of death) to wit, Mrs. Hamilton in Donoughadee, daughter to Mr. Andrew Stewart sometime minister there, of whom great and good things the world have heard, in the fulfilling of the scriptures. The names of the seven martyrs murdered at Air, were James Smith, Alexander M'Millan, James M'Millan, George Mackairtny, John Short, John Graham, and John Muirhead; upon their grave stone was this inscription,

Here lie seven martyrs for our covenants,
A sacred number of triumphant saints.
Pontius M'Adam the unjust sentence past,
What is his own, the world will know at last.
And Herod Drummond caus'd their heads affix,
Heaven keeps record of the sixty-six.
Boots, thumbikins, gibbets, were in fashion then,
LORD, let us never see such days again.

XXIV. He says, 'That when the curates were put from their churches, the people caused them promise they should never return again.'

Ans. This is a mistake; For in the end of the 1688, at the happy revolution, when the duke of York fled, and the crown was vacant, in which time we had no king nor judicatories in the kingdom; the united societies, in their general correspondence, considering the surprising, unexpected, merciful step of the Lord's dispensation, thought it someway belonged to us, in the Inter-regnum, to go to all popish houses, and de-

stroy the monuments of idolatry, with their priests' robes, and to apprehend and put in prison themselves; which was done at the cross of Dumfries, Peebles, and other places. That honorable and worthy gentleman, Donald Ker of Kersland, having a considerable number of us with him, went to the house of Traquair, in frost and snow, and found a great deal of Romish wares there, but wanted the cradle, Mary, and the babe, and the priest's robes: he sent James Arcknyes, and some with him, to the house of Mr. Thomas Louis, who had the name of a Presbyterian minister: Kersland ordered them to search his house narrowly, and behave themselves discreetly, which they did. Mr. Louis and his wife mocked them, without offering them either meat or drink, though they had much need of it. At last they found two trunks locked, which they desired to have opened; Mr. Louis then left them: they broke up the coffers, wherein they found a golden cradle, with Mary and the babe in her bosom; in the other trunk, the priast's robes, (the earl and priest were fled) which they brought all to the cross of Peebles, with a great deal of Popish books, and many other things of great value, all Romish wares, and burnt them there. At the same time, we concluded to go to all the Prelatick intruding curates, and to give them warning to remove with all that belonged them, giving them some time so to do; and told them, that we should not meddle with them upon the Lord's day, nor in the night; and we should not taste their meat or their drink, nor wrong any thing that belonged to them, except their gowns; and whatever ill words or provocations we got, we should give none: that we should call for the church's goods, cups and bason; and also for the kirk-box, wherein there was nothing but a few doits; likewise for the session-books and kirk-door keys; and that we should deliver all to men of credit in every place, to be forthcoming for them. The time of their fall was now come, which many longed for, even for long twenty-eight years; faintness was entered into their hearts, insomuch that the greater part of them could not speak sense, but stand trembling and sweating, though

we spoke with all calmness to them. I enquired at them, what made them to tremble, they that had been teachers and defenders of the Prelatical principles, and active and instrumental in many of our national mischiefs? How would they tremble and sweat, if they were in the Grass-market, and other such places, going up the ladder, with the rope before them, and the lad with the pyoted coat at their tail? but they were speechless objects of pity. I have many times since thought, that all who put their hands to that good work, ought to be thankful that there fell not something out in our hands to make us ashamed, and our names contemptible, all things considered, especially what they had been and done, and that the reins were now laid upon our necks to do what we pleased, and yet nothing done by us to any, but what we might avow. Indeed, there was some loose men, brought up under their own wings, who were very rude, in eating, drinking, and spoiling of their houses; this was laid on our names, which obliged us to publish a vindication of ourselves, as to all such things, at the cross of Douglas, where Mr. Shields was present, and did sing some verses of the beginning of the 76th Psalm,

> In Judah's land God is well known,
> his name in Isra'l's great, &c.

where he had some notes upon the same, saying, 'This Psalm was sweetly sung by famous Mr. Robert Bruce, at the cross of Edinburgh, at the break of the Spanish Armada, this same time hundred years.

The curates, these poor objects of pity, afterwards published an account of their sufferings, stuffed with gross lies. Some ministers wrote to me, to give a distinct account of every thing in the manner of their being put away; which I did of all the fifteen that I was at. It was given into the hands of doctor Rule, who, instead of confuting their gross lies, (wherein he had a large field) he vindicated the moderate Presbyterians of all such things, although the convention of estates justified us: which we represented as one of

our many and great grievances before the General Assembly, but were answered by silence, as in all other things; but not one word, either in our conclusions or practice, that they should not return again. There was never any publick work that I put my hand to, wherein I took so much delight, until the convention of estates sat down, and then I thought that it was no more proper for us; but alas! that that golden, non-such inter-regnum was not more and better improven.

XXV. Historian Wodrow says, 'That Robert Garnock and others with him were sentenced to die, merely for their wild opinions, which they owned before them.'

Ans. Their dying words are to be found in the 'Cloud of witnesses,' and reprinted by themselves of late, which will best declare, whether the grounds of their sentences were wild opinions or not. This Robert Garnock was one of the fifteen who got indictments of death for being at Bothwel-bridge, and refusing the black bond imposed and pressed at that time, which Mr. Edward Jamison (one of Mr. Wodrow's worthy Presbyterian ministers) sent from that unhappy meeting of ministers on the 8th of August, who prevailed with thirteen of them to take that bond, which lay heavy upon some of them both in their life and death, as I mentioned in my preface to Peden's life. Robert Garnock was esteemed by all to be a singular christian, of deep exercise, high attainments, great knowledge and experience in the ways of the Lord: he lay two years in prison, and in irons night and day, whom Mr. Jamison could not bow with his fair speeches, nor enemies break with their threatenings. The never-to be-forgotten Mr. James Renwick told me, that he was witness to this publick murder at the Gallowlee, betwixt Leith and Edinburgh, where he saw the hangman hash and hag off all their five heads, with Patrick Foreman's right hand: their bodies were buried at the gallows foot; their heads, with Patrick's hand, were brought and put upon five picks on the Pleasance-port. Some honest old men told me of late, that they were witness to the same, and saw the

hangman drive down their heads to the foot of the pike, and thereby broke their sculls. Mr. Renwick told me also, that it was the first publick action that his hand was at, to convene friends, to lift their murdered bodies, and carry them to the West church-yard of Edinburgh, and buried them there: then they came about the city to the Nether-bow port, with a design to take the heads, hands, and other parts of our martyrs bodies down; but a woman holding over a candle to let some people see the street, marred them. Then they took down these five heads, and that hand; and day being come, they went quickly up the Pleasance; and when they came to Lauristoun yards, upon the South-side of the city, they durst not venture, being so light, to go and bury their heads with their bodies, which they designed; it being present death, if any of them had been found. Alexander Tweedie, a friend being with them, who at that time was gardner in these yards, concluded to bury them in his yard, being in a box, (wrapped in linnen) where they lay forty-five years except three days, being executed upon the 10th of October 1681, and found the 7th day of October 1726. That piece of ground for some years lay unlaboured; and trenching it, the gardner found them, which affrighted him; the box was consumed. Mr. Schaw the owner of the yards caused lift them, and lay them upon a table in his summer-house: Mr. Schaw's mother was so kind, as to cut out a linnen cloth, and cover them. They lay twelve days there, where all had access to see them. Alexander Tweedie, the foresaid gardner said, when dying, There was a treasure hid in his yard, but neither gold nor silver. Daniel Tweedie his son came along with me to that yard, and told me that his father planted a white rose-bush above them, and further down the yard a red rose-bush, which were more fruitful than any other bush in the yard; and he is persuaded that some others of our martyrs' heads were buried there, as Archibald Stewart, John Potter, William Cuthel, William Thomson, and others, whose heads were fixed upon the West-port, but shortly taken away by friends. Some of our dissenters went and saw them, and desired to have them

in their burying, none being in the principles and practices of our martyrs but them, who have also reprinted these testimonies, with a slanderous elegy upon them. However they reflected upon the most of all that were at that burial; and however many came out of curiosity, yet I rejoiced to see so many concerned grave men and women favouring the dust of our martyrs. There were six of us concluded to bury them upon the 19th day of October 1726, and every one of us to acquaint friends of the day and hour, being Wednesday, the day of the week upon which most of them were executed, and at four of the clock at night, being the hour that most of them went to their resting graves. We caused to make a complete coffin for them in black, with four yards of fine linnen, the way that our martyrs' corps were managed; and, having the happiness of friendly magistrates at the time, we went to the present provost Drummond, and baillie Nimmo, and acquainted them with our conclusions anent them; with which they were pleased, and said, If we were sure that they were our martyrs' heads, we might bury them decently and orderly. (It was far otherwise at the happy revolution, when our friends gathered the heads, hands, and other parts of our martyrs' bodies, off publick ports, to the Magdalen-chapel, the magistrates threatened them; and Presbyterian ministers, who had accepted the duke of York's popish toleration, and who then were ministers in the meeting houses of Edinburgh, such as Mr. D. W. and H. K. frowned upon them, saying, 'Will ye never be quiet?' And, for that, friends would not suffer them to put their hands to a hand-spaik, though they offered.) Accordingly we kept the foresaid day and hour, and doubled the linnen, and laid the half of it below them, their nether-jaws being parted from their heads: but being young men, their teeth remained. All were witness to the holes in each of their heads, which the hangman broke with his hammer; and, according to the bigness of their sculls, we laid their jaws to them, and drew the other half of the linnen above them, and stuffed the coffin with shavings. Some pressed hard to go thorow the chief parts of the city, as was done at the revolution;

but this we refused, considering that it looked airy and frothy, to make such show of them, and inconsistent with the solid serious observing of such an affecting, surprizing, unheard-of dispensation: but took the ordinary way of other burials from that place, to wit; we went East the back of the wall, and in at Bristo-port, and down the way to the head of the Cowgate, and turned up to the church-yard; where they were interred close to the martyrs' tomb, with the greatest multitude of people, old and young, men and women, ministers and others, that ever I saw together. However, some deny, and others will not believe that all this is matter of fact, far less will many believe it forty, fifty, or sixty years after this, when boys and girls of six, eight, or ten years of age, who were witnesses to it, shall tell, That they saw five heads wanting bodies, re-buried forty-five years after they were murdered, for maintaining Presbyterian principles, in a time of persecution that was in the days of our fathers, by the Popish, Prelatical and malignant faction.

However some may reckon of that dispensation of the earth's now disclosing (as not being able any longer to cover) the blood of these slain witnesses; yet doubtless they are five witnesses, of forty-five years old, of the tyranny and cruelty of that never-to-be-forgotten time: and their being now found out is the more remarkable, that at this time, so many, wicked in principle and practice, are denying much of the tyranny of that time as matter of fact; and when historian Wodrow, with the lukewarm, backslidden and upsitten ministers, he with his pen, and they with their tongues, are saying, 'That many of these martyrs suffered for their wild opinions.' One thing they much insist upon is, 'That they would not pray for the king.' They were not bid do this alone, but to satisfy them of all their other wicked questions: and it was not salvation to his soul, that they would suffer them to pray for; but preservation to his body, and lengthening out of his days, that he might exercise more tyranny. But he having not only broken the mutual compact upon which he was made king, and exercised the very reverse of what he was sworn to do, (for

which he got a dispensation from the pope, to make a stirrup of our covenants to mount the throne of Britain, that he might be in a capacity the better to effectuate Rome's designs, as he and his brother had engaged with Popish princes abroad to do; which some historians gave an account of, with all the articles they signed when abroad) and not only so, but usurping the royal prerogatives of our Lord Jesus Christ, as King and Head of his church: thus stated, they were required to pray for him; and the oath of allegiance, that all were required to swear to him, was twisted with the oath of supremacy. When some of our *pawky-witted* primitive trucklers, in my hearing, said, That they would pray for him so and so, and subscribe their allegiance to him in such and such senses: I have heard sir George Mackenzie answer them, 'Do not cheat your own consciences, and deceive the world: Ye must pray for him, and swear allegiance to him, in the sense of the imposers; for ye that are swearers and prayers, ye have no power to put your sense upon our words.'

The broth was hell-hot in these days; they 'wanted long-shanked spoons that supped with the devil:' I could give many instances, but at this time shall only mention the drowning of these two women at Wigtoun in Galloway, the 11th of May 1685, (which some deny to be matter of fact) viz. Margaret Lauchlan, who was past sixty-three years, and some of her intimates said to me, She was a christian of deep exercise through much of her life, and of high attainments and great experiences in the ways of godliness; and Margaret Wilson who was put to death with her, aged twenty-three. The old woman was first tied to the stake, enemies saying, ''Tis needless to speak to that old damn'd bitch, let her go to hell: but,' say they, 'Margaret, ye are young; if ye'll pray for the king, we will give you your life.' She said, 'I'll pray for salvation to all the elect, but the damnation of none.' They dashed her under the water, and pulled her up again. People looking on said, 'O Margaret, will ye say it?' She said, 'Lord, give him repentance, forgiveness and salvation, if it be thy holy will.' Lagg cry'd, 'Damn'd

bitch, we do not want such prayers: tender the oaths to her.' She said, 'No, no sinful oaths for me.' They said, 'To hell with them, to hell with them, it is o'er good for them.' Thus suffered they that extraordinary and unheard-of death.

Margaret Maxwel, now an old infirm woman, told me of late in Borrostounness, That she was then prisoner with them, and expected the same sentence; but she was ordained to be scourged through the town of Wigtoun by the hand of the common hangman three days successively, and to stand each day one hour in juggs; all which was done. But such was the cruelty of these days, that all who retained any thing of humanity toward their fellow-creatures, abhorred such barbarity; so that all the three days the foresaid Margaret was punished and exposed, there was scarce one open door or window to be seen in the town of Wigtoun, and no boys or girls looking on. The officers and hangman enquiring if they should shorten the hour, she said, 'No, let the knock (or clock) go on, she was neither wearied nor ashamed.' The hangman was very tender to her.

All this cruelty was acted by sir Robert Grierson of Lagg, (who stirred up others to assist him,) a great persecutor, a great swearer, a great whorer, blasphemer, drunkard, liar and cheat, and yet out of hell.

Although the publishers first and last of the foresaid testimonies of Robert Garnock and the other three, confidently say, That they only and alone are in the principles and practices of our martyrs: yet it is evident to all, that they have shown no kindness to the remembrance of Alexander Russel's name, (who is the fifth who suffered with them) inserting so much of his ill, and so little of his good; as, That he was fourteen years a hearer of the curates, given to all manner of licentiousness, keeping company with the profane, drinking, swearing, Sabbath breaking, reproaching the godly, taking the black bond, out of curiosity hearing the gospel, where he was converted.

Some have been both convinced and converted, and made to believe, to whom the gift of suffering has not been given. And further they say, 'That his testi-

mony differs nothing in substance from the rest.—There was the more need of publishing his, which would have tended much to the commendation of the riches of the Lord's free grace, in strengthning, supporting and comforting him in all his sufferings, and in undergoing a violent death; and so much the more, that I never heard of any of our sufferers, that either they themselves, or others could charge them with any such ill things: the death of his three children in ten days, being a melancholy fit, could be no clear call alone for him to go out to the help of the Lord against the mighty at Bothwel-bridge.

Follows a FUNERAL POEM upon these five martyrs' heads, viz. Robert Garnock, Patrick Foreman, James Stewart, David Ferry, and Alexander Russel, who were executed and buried at the Gallow-lee, betwixt Leith and Edinburgh, being the first of our martyrs who were executed there, where the greatest of malefactors are hanged and hung in chains; and which was the reason of lifting their dead corps, upon the 10*th of October* 1681, *and burying them elsewhere. The sculls were digged up, upon the* 7*th of October* 1726, *and re-interred upon the* 19*th day of the said month. But suffering in that place became common afterwards.*

WHEN for our fathers' sins, by angry heaven,
To persecuting Prelates power was given,
Then they became the nation's scourge and rod,
And for a season on the saints they trod:
Like furious floods from fiery dragon's mouth
Sweeps off the true adherers to the truth;
To desart places they pursu'd the kirk,
And set all torturing engines to work;
The League and Covenant burnt at the cross,
And men were murdered in muir and moss,
Allow'd no law nor time to call for grace,
And the self-contradicting Test took place;
Then abjur'd Prelacy, like sister Rome,
Did basely on men's consciences presume.
Then Presbyt'ry, which lately prop't the crown,
Was by exalted Perjury trode down;
Then non-conformity inferred death,
And cursing was the common Shibboleth:
With squeezing boots malignant malice sported,
Crimeless confessions cruelly extorted,
Made drunk with blameless blood (like myst'ry Babel)
Which vengeance calls aloud like that of Abel;
Then dying speeches were by drums beat down,
The common privilege of man o'erthrown,
Then to the grand Dilemma men were driven,

'To lose their lives, or live and forfeit heaven.
'Twas then these heads boldly embrac'd their fate,
To be cut off and plac'd on every gate,
Gave testimony with their latest breath,
And loved not their lives unto the death;
Adhering to the Covenant and Cause,
To a good Conscience, Liberty and Laws,
Confessing Christ to be the only king
And head of his own church, in every thing,
And as they to that truth had bravely stood,
So they rejoicing seal'd it with their blood;
With blood of saints Edinburgh's streets were dy'd,
A sacrifice to sacrilegious pride.
And by their barbarous insulting power,
Posted their heads on every port and tower,
When I behold these venerable bones,
Methinks I hear them utter heavy groans,
Not for themselves but their degenerate sons.
To see their former zeal now quite worn off,
Their cause and suffering become a scoff;
These sculls were surely sent upon the stage,
Bearing the marks of mad malignant rage,
To call aloud to this lethargick age,
Of the impending vengeance from above,
On breach of Covenant and buried love.

XXVI. Mr. Wodrow says, 'That Mr. Cameron was the first that preached separation from the indulged.'

Ans. This is not matter of fact; several ministers and places might be instanced, especially Mr. John Welwood, and the worthy Mr. John Kid, whom the Lord helped and honoured to be faithful unto the death, preaching at Tintuhill (sometime before there was any noise made about him) before a great multitude, and singing a part of the second Psalm,

Yet notwithstanding I have him,
to be my king anointed, &c.

and prefacing upon that Psalm, cried out with many tears, 'Treason, treason, treason, against king Christ

in Scotland: they would have him a king without a kingdom, and a king without subjects; there is not a clean pulpit in all Scotland this day, curate or indulged; wherefore come out among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not these unclean things, and I will be a father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty.

XXVII. He says, 'That though Mr. Welsh earnestly prest Mr. Cameron to come forth to the work of the ministry, yet he was far from approving of the heights he ran into afterwards.'

Ans. It was the observe and saying of several solid christians, especially Mr. John Dick, that singular christian, and cheerful sufferer at Edinburgh the 5th of March 1684, who rode much with that gracious, worthy good man Mr. Welsh, 'That he had always had ups and downs in his case, warm blinks and clouds, but especially from the time that he took the wrong end of that plea in pleading in favours of the indulgence, and censuring the more faithful by witnessing against it, and opposing the inserting of it among the steps of our defections, and one of the causes of a day of humiliation.' When the Lord's people were in arms at Hamiltoun, before their fall and flight there, upon which it was neglected, though there was much need for it in their singular circumstances, he, and Mr. David Home, and others, published that declaration, commonly called Hamiltoun declaration, both at Glasgow and Hamiltoun, when many, both ministers and people, had so many weighty objections against it, especially the taking in the tyrant's interest; which made Mr. M'Ward write, 'That the blood of that quarrel would be found in the skirts of penners and publishers:' although Mr. Wodrow says, 'That some who died afterwards were put upon it, to bear testimony against it:' whereas many of the most eminent, both ministers and people, were all at that time so displeased, that if the enemies had not come upon us that Sabbath morning, they were firmly resolved on Monday to go home (staying to hear sermon that day) being fully persuaded that they would fall and flee be-

fore that enemy, the quarrel being mistated. But from the time that Mr. Welsh began to plead in favours of erastianism and complyers with it, (far below his grandfather's zeal and faithfulness, for which he came under sentence of death in king James the VIth's time, (the man that laid the foundation of many of our mischiefs, especially erastianism) yet the Lord, who will not put his seal to a blank, sealed their sufferings with strength, support and comfort, which he and Mr. Forbes give wonderful accounts of, which is to be found in the Fulfilling of the Scripture,) our late worthy Mr. Welsh, his clouds grew thicker, darker and longer from the foresaid time, and died at London under a cloud at last. But who can understand what these heights were, that Mr. Cameron ran into? Was it the height of the damnable errors of Antichrist, Arianism, Arminianism, Socinianism, enthusiastick quakerism, or any other of the more refined sectarianism? I wish that Mr. Wodrow's well-wishers would pray for him, that he may come to himself, and be of a right mind, who has been so lavish of his misrepresentations and groundless reflections, causing the present and the following ages to conclude that many of our ministers and martyrs were more than half-papists, living and dying in implicit judgments and faiths — There were indeed four things wherein Mr. Cameron differed from the most part of ministers and professors in that non-such juncture of time, though he had some ministers who concurred with him, and some ministers and many professors that succeeded him. 1st.— In lifting the fallen publick standard of the gospel, deserted by its old promoters, who had their large share of the manifestations of that day, and were not straitened in preaching and praying. See what a testimony Mr. King and Mr. Kid gave to the keeping up of the publick standard of the gospel in the field meetings (nicknamed conventicles) in their dying words, and the reverend worthy Mr. George Barclay, who was very publick at that time, and had his hand at many a good turn, and was a blest instrument to the edification of many souls, but got a waff of that murder-

ing east-wind in the 1679, and after that gathered too much old wit, and got too much of the world in his arms, and left too much of it to a sinful fool, to his hurt, having no children alive, as he said to myself, when near the gates of death: he being struck with a palsy, and his memory and judgment much gone, yet took delight, with the tear in his eye, smiling, to discourse of the warm blinks they had in that day, wherein they had not only a praying spirit, but a preaching and fighting spirit, whereof he had his leal share, with a singular gift of prefacing, which was always practised in that day, for the tuning and tempering of the minds and spirits of people for duties thorow the day: but (as he said) above all places in Scotland, he found the greatest gale upon his spirit upon the water of Clyde; which he attributed much to the plentiful successful prayers of some of the old christians, and their offspring, who got a merciful cast of free grace, when casts were a dealing at the kirk of Shots, the 20th of June 1630, which perfumed and gave a scent to the overward of Clidsdale above all other places, but alas! is now much gone. But he said, 'The best day that ever he had in preaching of the gospel was in the bounds belonging to the laird of Haugh-head, worthy Henry Hall (whom the Lord helped and honoured to be faithful unto the death) preaching upon the Monday, the sacrament of the Lord's supper being dispensed in the fields the Sabbath before, upon that text, 'And he that hath begun a good work in you, &c.' In the time of his sermon, there was a small dizzle of warm rain, and he was as sensible of a dizzle of the dew of heaven upon his own soul and the souls of that people, as he saw the rain fall down upon their bodies. 'Digressions (said he) from texts are much cryed down now, but he should never blame a minister for an edifying digression; for when it was best with him, he had manyest of these.'

But from that sad fall and flight before the enemy, June 22d 1679, and that Erastian meeting in August. thereafter, gaping after a third indulgence, and laying down the foresaid unhappy conclusions; they went (without any stretch it may be justly said) back, and

walked no more with him in a national way of witnessing. The Lord was with them, while they were for him: but from the foresaid 22d of June, until the next year that Mr. Cameron came from Holland, who was suddenly cut off, (except a little time in the 1681, that Mr. Cargill was in the fields, who was also quickly cut off by the butchering enemy) and until the year 1683, that Mr. Renwick with courage and confidence lifted that fallen standard: the most part of these ministers, who formerly jeoparded their lives in the high places, became tame about the enemy's hand; they could then say to prisoners, 'Ye shall have any of your own ministers to converse with.' And the reverend Mr Riddle said to Mr. John Vance the manager of the prison, 'If these lasses (to wit Isabel Alison and Marion Harvie, whom he had been conversing with, as is to be seen in the Cloud of witnesses) desire to speak with me again, I am to be found in such a place.' The time was, when Mr. Vance and the tolbooth would have been a terror to him

2dly, Mr. Cameron, Mr. Cargill and Mr. Thomas Douglass, their keeping a fast at Darmeid, in Auchingilloch and other places, exciting and stirring up the Lord's people to mourn for the kindly reception of the duke of York, a sworn vassal of Antichrist, with such rejoicing into Scotland, when he was excluded out of other nations. But the snare, sin and stain of this to Scotland is at large insisted upon by Mr. M'Ward in his book now published to the world.

I have often thought these many years, that if the foresaid great shining lights had been continued upon the stage, and retained that light, life, zeal and faithfulness which they then had, they not only would have given light in that non-such Egyptian darkness that afterwards followed, but would have been as he-goats before the little flock of the united societies, in maintaining an active testimony against unparalleled tyranny and defections of all kinds, both left and right hand; and a great encouragement to Mr. Renwick, Mr. Shields, and others taking part in the work of that day; but also would have lived a mournful tearful life, to have seen, heard, and felt the dreadful heights of ty-

ranny and the monstrous steps and heights of defections of all kinds, that now we are arrived at: when they were so affected and afflicted with York's reception into this land, rather as a fugitive to lurk for a time, than a prince to rule and reign; how much more the very next year, July 28th, when he sat down commissioner to the parliament the very day after he and they got that great and lamentable glut of Mr. Cargill's innocent, precious, dear blood, and the foresaid other four with him, upon one gibbet, at the cross of Edinburgh: then again, upon the sixth day of February 1685, when he was proclaimed king over these covenanted lands, and owned and acknowledged as such, by all ranks, contrair to the law of God, and the established laws of the kingdom; and in the 1687, when he gave forth his hell-brewed, and Rome blinked popish toleration, by virtue of his royal prerogative and absolute power, which all were to obey without reserve, which the foresaid famous Mr. Andrew Melvil called the bloody gully; and all ranks of the land accepted of it, and eight of the leading presbyterian ministers sent to him an abominable, sinful and shameful letter of thanks in the name of all presbyterians in Scotland; and desired that all who dissented therefrom, might not be looked upon as any of their persuasion: the height of base flattery, juggling and dissembling; for neither he nor they thought or designed as they spoke and wrote, like boatmen looking one way and rowing another: and not any to give a publick, active testimony against all these unheard of acts and steps, save Mr. Renwick, Mr. Shields, and the united societies; which testimony the faithful unto the death, Mr. Renwick, sealed with his innocent, precious, dear blood.

Then again, the duke of York appointed the 17th day of January 1688, as a day of thanksgiving, because his wife was with child: which the greater part kept, although Mr. Wodrow says that no presbyterians kept it. But I can instruct the names of some leading presbyterian ministers, as Mr. William Crighton at Hilderstoun, &c. who kept it, and prayed earnestly for her and the child's preservation, and for a safe and

easy deliverance to her: and, as was then said, the pretender was born upon the 10th day of June: and the 21st day is appointed for another solemn thanksgiving-day for his birth, in the diocess of Edinburgh, and the 28th day of the same month for all the rest of the kingdom; which was kept at Edinburgh with the greatest solemnity that ever was for any prince in Scotland; witness the Northloch was all in a flame with fire works, which thousands were witnesses to: and all the addressers, and accepters of his toleration, very publickly and devoutly kept it, with great expressions of thankfulness, blessing God that there was such a gracious and merciful king upon the throne of Britain, and a young prince born of that royal race, to succeed him; and continued their prayers for father, mother and son, until the end of that year, that they were obliged to leave these kingdoms; and then these ministers quit their prayers for them, when they had most need of them: and now these 38 years have been preaching and praying against them, and these years by past have heartily and willingly abjured him with solemn oaths, 'That he has no right nor title whatsoever to the crown of Britain:' with unheard-of prayers for help. All these dreadful lengths gone unto, not in secret, but in sight of the sun; and I appeal to the consciences of many ministers and professors, yet upon the stage, of the nation's guilt, and their own, in these unheard-of steps. And our historian Wodrow says, in his flattering dedication of his history to king George, 'The least inclination to a popish pretender to the crown of these realms, is a crime so black in our eyes, and contrary to our principles and interest, that we want words to express our abhorrence of it.'—What is he now, but what his said father was then? only he is not chargeable with the sinking dead weight of dreadful national guilt, in which his father was many ways active, especially in our persecution, both as contriver, and causer to be put in execution in Scotland and England, especially in the year 1685, after the duke of Monmouth's murder.

The unheard-of cutting off two hundred and fifty poor innocents in England in such a short time, some

boys of ten or twelve years of age; hanging one poor man, for sparing three pence worth of grass to the duke of Monmouth's horse; the lady Lisle, whom they could charge with nothing but shewing favour in succouring sufferers; and their burning of Mrs. Gant (who lived in Wapping) to the death, of whom I heard many desirable accounts for a singular christian, though they could charge her with nothing but harbour, supply, and support to dissenters, especially our Scots sufferers: much of this was done by one Jeffreys and colonel Hill; who hanged twelve of them upon one gibbet in one day, with a huzza and a glass of wine, with pipers and hautboys to every one's being cast off; hanging some of them at the stenchels of windows, and many others, besides these two hundred and fifty, hanged and destroyed in cold blood.

What is the pretender now, but what all had ground to conclude he would be, he coming from the loins of a sworn vassal of Antichrist, and the womb of such a bigotted Papist (as was then said) and of such an education?

Such weathercock-turnings, preaching and prayers, swearings and writings, are enough to turn all such things out of request to an unthinking atheistical world. I have often thought these many years, that if the Lord in mercy and free-love had not persuaded me in my young days that there was a reality in christianity, though none in all the world had professed it but myself, I would long since have professed myself an atheist, and made sport of heaven and hell, and all sacred things, considering how weathercock-like the greater part of ministers and professors, especially these ministers, whose hand has been chief in all our defections these hundred and sixty-six years since our first General Assembly, which was in 1560, where the singular and never to be forgotten John Knox did preside as moderator, which well became him, having fought valiantly for it to get this church to that pass. I have also many times thought, since the foresaid reception of the duke of York, the devil's lieutenant, (as Mr. Shields sometimes called him in publick) our eyes have been darkning, and now we have almost lost

the sight of the damnable nature of Antichrist's errors, 'That (as great Durham and other solid divines assert) living papists, and dying so, holding the complex body of their principles, there is no salvation for them.

2dly, Ever since, our zeal has been a cooling, and now is turned lukewarm; so there is not that longing and praying for the promised day of Babylon's fall, as was amongst our zealous fathers.

3dly, Our fears of popery overflowing this land have been ever since decreasing, as has been remarked by some godly worthies; and there has never been such a growth and increase of it, since the reformation from it, as at this day, in many places of Scotland, especially in the north, where it is asserted, that there are 1600 papists in some two parishes, with swarms of priests more and more from Rome, who have great pretences to morality and hospitality; and other means are to blind the eyes, and deceive the ignorant.

The famous John Knox said, That he was more afraid of one mass in Scotland, than of ten thousand enemies invading the kingdom. We have forgot that their principles are not only damnable, but also treacherous and bloody; that they do not reckon themselves obliged to keep either faith or promise to hereticks, as they call us, and also say, that it is not only lawful to kill us, but meritorious of heaven, as their priests have persuaded them, when falling upon their massacres, especially in Ireland, That if they killed three hereticks, they needed not fear either hell or purgatory. And as their principles are, so have their practices been, to the doleful experience of many thousands through the world, especially in Paris in France, and the suburbs thereof, where ten thousand were killed in three days. And the foresight and forethoughts of some of our seers, of somewhat of this nature abiding this land, have made them to tremble, especially Edinburgh and the west of Scotland; and all that ever they did foresee and foretell, has come to pass, but that; and that we would never have a convincing, converting, reforming, or covenanting day, till that be over.

I mentioned, in my preface to Mr. Peden's life, three times that this was designed and endeavoured, by French influence, with their dear friends the prelatical malignant faction taking part with them, since the revolution, viz. in the years 1708, 1715, and 1719; But there were other three times that escaped me then, which were before the revolution; as in the years 1684 and 1685, when we were in a mistake about the court designs in exercising such unheard of tyranny: but since that time, some that write of court affairs of Britain for 20 of these years, assert, 'That the very design of that killing time was to provoke the Lord's people in the West of Scotland to rise in arms in their own defence, as at Pentland, Bothwel, and Airsmoss; that they might get the sham occasion to raise fire and sword in the west, to make it a hunting-field,' as the duke of York had openly threatened, saying, 'There was no other way of rooting out phanaticism out of it.'

2dly, In September 1686, when they made that narrow search in the west for arms, that the poor people might have nothing to defend themselves and their families from the flames of a devouring sword. I myself can assert the truth of this, I having escaped their hands very narrowly and remarkably.

3dly, The very design of that popish toleration, in 1687, was to lull all asleep, that they might get their bloody designs effected in a massacre.

But alas! how forgetful and unthankful have we been for these multitudes of his tender mercies, many ways manifested to this sinful land above all lands, especially since our last remarkable deliverance from blood and slaughter at the rebellion in 1715, that discernibly every year since, there has been a swift decay of all good, and speedy increase of all ill whatsoever? so that it is a matter of unspeakable grief and sorrow, to consider what great indignation the Lord hath let forth against us, heaping wrath upon wrath, and making one judgment to follow another as the waves of the sea: and for the most part, the fruits thereof through the land have been no other than further departing from the Lord and his ways, and dividing us one from another in judgment and affection. Our

breaches are wide as the sea. Who can heal them? spiritual judgments especially are multiplied upon us, and divine influences restrained: and as we have all the sins, with all aggravating circumstances, that ever provoked the Lord to pour down wrath and judgments upon a nation and people; so we have all the effects and evidences of the Lord's hot anger in these moth-judgments, both in our spirituals and temporals, so that whatever any sow or look for in both, it is little increase the greatest part gathers in. And this day we have all the symptoms and signs of a generation of his wrath, from whom he has taken away his peace, even loving-kindness and tender mercies: being turned gospel-proof and judgment-proof: many fretting and murmuring, and few mourning or turning to the Lord that smiteth: the foolish fallen sound asleep, and the wise slumbering, perishing in security, carnality, hypocrisy, neutrality and indifferency about all those great concerns; and know not how soon these moth-judgments may be turned to lion-judgments of sword, famine and pestilence, and these well deserved, long-threatened, foreseen and foretold days of vengeance, that all may be accomplished, and the midnight cry be heard amongst us.

I hope, that all the Lord's serious zealous people will excuse me for this and all other digressions: for many times I have resolved, if ever I came to the publick with my scraps of writings, that I should keep nothing back, that ever has been useful to me for information, or confirmation, edification, and matter of either joy or sorrow, in these national concerns, thorow my life.

3dly, Their proclaiming to the world their disowning of Satan's seat for the throne of God, tyranny for magistracy, tyrants for magistrates, devils in men's skins, setting the edge and point of their sword against all well doers, inverting all the ends of government, and perverting religion, laws and liberties, which he was obliged to maintain, both by his office and trust, and the superadded tie of our solemn national covenants.

4thly, Their disownings and giving faithful warning of the snares and sins of the indulgence, and separation from the indulged, for their Balaam-like looking greedily over the steep, slippery brae of backsliding, where there is no standing; and God suffering them, in holy justice, to follow their look: and headlong they went to the unfathomable depth of defection, in their embracing of the Christ-dethroning, church-ruining, remnant-renting, zeal-quenching indulgence; where they lay in that puddle, with foul hands and garments, the first of them for 18 years, and the second for 11 years, juggling and dissembling, and keeping the unhappy birth and restoration-day and otherwise; and some of them sometimes challenged by the council for not keeping their restrictions, injunctions, and terms upon which they got that liberty.

Then in the end of the 1684, the enemies having resolved and concluded on unheard-of, violent, tyrannical measures, and having gained their design by them, they were summoned to appear before the council: they kept their day, and came to the Parliament-close; they were ordered by a macer to go to the tolbooth: there came a great croud of them, and called at the outer gate, which I was a witness to, being then prisoner; they got access, where they continued until we were sent unto Dunnotar-castle. Their carriage in that house was very stumbling, voluntarily leaving their rooms, coming to the common-hall, and hearing the curates every Sabbath, to the great offence of many suffering people there, upon that head, giving occasion to the wicked to mock all such. And after Mr. Shield's fainting before the enemy, for which there was such grief upon his spirit, that he was in danger of a fever: he was advised to take blood: when it was doing, they said with loud laughter among them, 'Take more, for there's abundance of wild blood in his veins; and much of it in this house, there being many who have need to open a vein;' and many other offensive speeches, which I was ear-witness to. At last, they bound themselves to walk orderly and live peaceably, and keep their parish-kirks, and never preach more without a license from the supreme ma-

gistrate. Some few of them were sent to the Bass, as Mr. Peter Kid and Mr. John Greig, for refusing this; what became of them afterwards, I know not. The Lord in mercy prevent my fears (that I could not shake myself free of ever since) that these men, and men of their spirits, will be a plague and dead weight upon this church, of a longer continuance than the most part are either fearing or thinking upon.

XXVIII. Mr. Wodrow says, 'Upon the 22d of July 1684, he finds that Patrick Walker (a boy) before the council confessed, that he was present at the murdering of Mr. Francis Gordon, one of the earl of Airly's troop; and upon the 16th day of August, was banished with many others.'

Answ. If this be all that he found in the records concerning me, he and all may see how lame they are; and if he had been witness to as much of their way of writing as I was, he would have taken no notice of them, so as to transmit them: it was seldom they wrote as prisoners spoke, which did great hurt to prisoners. Take an instance amongst many, as follows; When it was enquired if the killing of the bishop was murder; we answered, That it was not our action, it was done in Fife, and we were never in that shire, with other arguments; they wrote in short, 'And refuses to call the bishop's death murder:' and many such. And if he found a full account concerning me, and inserts this so very lame, this is a partial biassed relation. That I was present at that unhappy man the bishop's death (who ran so violently upon his own ruin) is a gross lie: that was what they wanted, but I would not give it, but put them to probation. That I was banished upon the 17th day of August, is also false; it was upon the third day of July that sentence of banishment was first passed upon me. Their hasty passing of that sentence, together with Meldrum's death, were two remarkable steps of providence for the saving of my life; for I was denounced a rebel over the cross of Edinburgh two years before that; and if they had called that to mind, I would not have got such a sentence, nor would I been so well dealt with, I being taken upon the 29th of June, with other four, out of our beds,

and brought out of Linlithgo thieves-hole upon the first day of July to Edinburgh, upon the second day we were examined before the council, and that night got indictment. James Edward, John Gardiner, and me, the heads and articles of our indictment were common, viz. 'Owning our covenants, defensive arms, and hearing the gospel in the fields, especially Mr. Cargill and Mr. Renwick; not owning the authority,' as then called; 'refusing to call Bothwel-bridge rebellion, and the bishop's death murder,' and such like nonsense: and upon the third day, sentence was past on us to go to America, never to return to Scotland, under the pain of death. This sentence was pronounced by the arch-prelate of St. Andrews, and within a month thereafter he got sentence elsewhere. I lay under that sentence until the sixteenth day: when they had got notice that I was among their hands, I was then again examined, and upon the twenty-second I was examined also, and upon the twenty-third day there was a strong debate among them; many were for my life, and others for publick torture, others said, I was under sentence of law, and no new thing, either confessed or proven; among their last was my lord Tarbat. They renewed the foresaid sentence again. I had lyen all that time with a great weight of irons upon me, until the first day of August, when I was sent to a ship with other thirteen, and upon the sixth day of the month, at one o'clock in the morning, brought back, with a design to take my life; and I lay in prison until the 18th day of May 1685, that I was with many others sent to Dunnotar castle, and brought back to Leith the 18th day of August; and I escaped at eight o'clock at night, in a confusion, out of Leith toibooth. In these fourteen months, I was eighteen times examined, and only three times about that unhappy man's death, with all the rest of the rat-rythm of questions, wherein all may see what singular steps they took with me, which they did never with any, though they reckoned me a boy.

But, because Mr. Wodrow has transmitted my name under the notion of a murderer. [I wish him repentance and forgiveness for what unaccountable wrongs

he has done by his pen to the testimony, and to the names of Christ's slain witnesses for the same: for myself, I am easy; my tongue is yet in my head, and my pen in my hand; and what I have to say upon that head, for myself and these with me, will run faster and further than he has feet to go. I am reflected upon, for not giving Mr. Wodrow better information. I answer, Before his history came out, when I heard of his manuscripts going from hand to hand among the long-heads, (I knew it would be patched up according to the backsliding spirit of the day) I desired the reverend Mr. James Webster to give me account when he came to his house, that I might have a short conversation with him. Mrs. Webster told him my desire: he answered, He depended on the records of that time.] I shall give a brief and true account of that man's death, which I did not design to do while I was upon the stage. I resolve indeed, (if the Lord will) to leave a more full account of that, and many other remarkable steps of the Lord's dispensations towards me thorow my life. It was then commonly said, That Francis Gordon was a volunteer out of wickedness of principles, and could not stay with the troop, but was still raging and ranging to catch hiding suffering people, Meldrum and Airly's troops, lying at Lanark, upon the first day of March 1682; Mr. Gordon and another wicked comrade, with their two servants and four horses, came to Kilcaigow, two miles from Lanark, searching for William Caigow and others under hiding. Mr. Gordon rambling thorow the town, offered to abuse the women. At night they came a mile further to the Easter-seat to Robert Muir's, he being also under hiding. Gordon's comrade and the two servants went to bed, but he could sleep none, roaring all night for women. When day came, he took only his sword in his hand, and came to Moss-plate; and some men (who had been in the fields all night) seeing him, they fled, and he pursued. James Wilson, Thomas Young, and myself, having been in a meeting all night, were lyen down in the morning; we were alarmed, thinking there were many more than one; he pursued hard, and overtook us. Thomas Young

said, 'Sir, what do you pursue us for?' He said, 'I am come to send you to hell.' James Wilson said, 'That shall not be, for we will defend ourselves.' He said, 'Either I or you shall go to it now.' He run his sword furiously thorow James Wilson's coat; James fired upon him, but missed him: all the time he cried, 'Damn his soul.' He got a shot in his head out of a pocket-pistol, rather fit for diverting a boy, than killing such a furious, mad, brisk man; which notwithstanding killed him dead. The foresaid William Caigow and Robert Muir came to us. We searched him for papers, and found a long scroll of sufferers' names, either to kill or take; I tore it all to pieces; he had also some Popish books and bonds of money, with one dollar, which a poor man took off the ground; all which we put in his pocket again. Thus he was four miles from Lanark, and near a mile from his comrade, seeking his own death and got it.

And, for as much as we have been condemned for this, I could never see how any could condemn us, that allows of self-defence, which the laws both of God and nature allow to every creature. For my own part, my heart never since smote me for this; when I saw his blood run, I wished that all the blood of the Lord's stated and avowed enemies in Scotland had been in his veins, having such a clear call and opportunity, I would have rejoiced to have seen it all gone out with a gush. I have many times wondered at the greater part of the indulged lukewarm ministers and professors in that time, who made more noise of murder, when one of these enemies has been killed, even in our own defence, than of twenty of us being murdered by them. None of these men present was challenged for this, but myself: Thomas Young thereafter suffered at Machline, but was not challenged for this; Robert Muir was banished; James Wilson outlived the persecution; William Caigow died in the Canongate tolbooth, in the beginning of 1685; Mr. Wodrow is misinformed, who says, 'That he suffered unto death.'

But let Mr. Wodrow with his premeditate pen, and the unthinking, unbridled-tongued world, write and speak as they please of these singular ministers and

people, who stated and maintained an active testimony in that day against tyranny and defection of all kinds, both left and right-hand, and who counted nothing too dear for the same: for my part, I reckon myself obliged while I live to bless the Lord, that I had the happiness to be their hearer, and so much in converse with both ministers and people, especially so near (even upon the murdering bloody days of) their deaths; and was witness to so much of their joy and rejoicing in the Lord, that they were counted worthy to seal their testimony with their blood, being so strengthened, supported and comforted, and dying with such full assurance of faith. These were the excellent ones of the earth, in whom I had all my delight and pleasure on earth in these days; and I have often thought since, that though I were to live many years, I would despair to see such an united handful of ministers and people, with so much zeal, faithfulness, love, sympathy and harmony, with so many good things, and so few ill things: whatever single persons were among them (at that time blameless) who afterwards proved naught, and whatever unguarded expressions were in their publick papers, yet their scope and design was always simple and good; however some put the worst sense upon them, and left them as sheep without a shepherd, to be destroyed of these destroyers in the midst of snares and sins.

I have often wondered these many years, if ever there were so many of so few, and in so few years, that not only went to heaven, but went off the stage with such fresh gales and full sails. It is remarkable, that the Lord, in his sovereign wisdom and love, has put respect upon piety and zeal, above all other graces; an Enoch who walked with God three hundred years, and a zealous Elijah, these two the Lord took straight to heaven, without either a consuming grave, or a foolish fancied purgatory by the way. Many instances in our own land might be given of signal manifestations of the Lord's love to the souls of his ministers and people, and remarkable favours of his providence towards their bodies in the days of their distress, especially in suffering and dying for his sake:

I shall for the time only give three, passing by our martyrs in the period I have been treating of, which I may notice afterwards.

First, Mr. David Black, minister of the gospel at St. Andrews, who was an eye-sore to king James VI. for his zeal and faithfulness, as the world may see in Calderwood's history. After that he got the crown of England, then he reckoned himself a king indeed; (though the uniting of the crowns tended indeed to his great honour and profit, and his unhappy offspring after him, yet it tended unspeakably to the great hurt of this church and nation; and it is evident to all, that Scotland ever since has been under a consumption, how much more now by these sinful unhappy transactions of the uniting of the nations?) and to get his unhappy designs carried on in Scotland of Erastianism and prelacy, (knowing them all by head-mark, having been with them who were his greatest opposites, retaining their zeal and faithfulness) he sent for eight of them to London, and ten he banished to Holland; Mr. Welsh and Mr. Forbes he cast in prison; Mr. Bruce he confined in Inverness, whom a little before, he reckoned worth the half of his kingdom: when he got these and some few more out of the way, he got Presbytery overturned, and Prelacy established, which continued forty-two years. Who would have believed this at 1596, that twenty years before his death (which was in the year 1624) the greater part would have made such sad and foul discoveries of themselves, and few remained faithful in principle and practice to the testimony in that day, which has been and is the testimony to this day against Prelacy and Erastianism. The foresaid Mr. Black, for his faithfulness was confined beyond Tay, to a remote part in Angus, where he died; where he was admitted to great nearness with the Lord, and extraordinary assistance, with a gale of the Spirit, to the humbling of the hearts, and melting the spirits of his hearers? he found also upon his own soul such a taste of heaven, and was seized with such a fervent longing to be with the Lord, giving him a secret intimation of his death being near,

that he could not conceal it from his family and flock, taking farewell of them all.

The next day after sermon and celebration of the Sacrament, he had scarce ended, when he found the approaches of his death seize upon him, with such a present change, as his friends essayed to hold him on every hand; but he pressing to be at his knees, with his hands and eyes lifted up to heaven in the very act of adoration, as in a transport, is taken away without either pain or sickness. This his old familiar friend and colleague, famous Mr. Andrew Melvil, relates, and much more about him.

The second instance is great Mr. Rutherford, who was upwards of forty years publick upon the stage, and retained his piety, zeal, and faithfulness to the very last, which is very rare to be found: his sound writings upon several subjects do evidence his great parts and learning; and his public letters, which now the debauchees are drinking their bottles with, and some young preachers and expectants say, 'They are only fit for old wives,' do witness his deep exercise, high attainments and great experience in the exercise and practice of godliness.

And while he was dying, the last day of February 1661, it is commonly said, 'That the first wicked parliament after the restoration sent heralds to St. Andrews to summon him before them.' He spoke out of the bed, and said, 'Tell them that sent you, that I have got summons already before a superior judge and judicatory, and I behove to answer to my first summons; and ere your day come, I will be where few kings and great folk come.' When they returned, and told that he was dying, the parliament put it to a vote, Whether they should let him die in the college, or not? the vote carried to put him out, few dissenting. My lord Burleigh said, 'Ye have voted that honest man out of the college, but ye cannot vote him out of heaven' Some said, 'He would never win there; hell was o'er good for him.' Burleigh replied, 'I wish I were as sure of heaven as he is; and I would reckon myself happy to get a grip of his sleeve, to hale me in, when Mr. Rutherford enters

the gates.' And twelve days before his death, he signed his testimony to the covenanted work of reformation, and dealt faithfully with all that came to visit him, especially these ministers who had sided with the resolutioners.

But, beside the many and great evidences of his sound judgment and faithfulness thorow his life, his plain and free dealing with his dear brethren, (when prisoners in the castle of Edinburgh) against their petitioning the committee of estates, and their not being free and faithful according to covenanted Presbyterian principles, who were seized upon when drawing a remonstrance to present to the parliament, against the overturning of the work of reformation, in the first parliament after the restoration; and this light, life, and spirit, in and about him, when departed from the greater part of all ranks, being one of the melancholiest hours that have gone over the church of Scotland's head since the reformation; the heaven-daring Act rescissory past, and Prelacy established, without a protestation; several synods raised in the king's name, and charged to purge out the rebels, meaning the honest Protesters, not only without a protestation, but some of them without prayers; and after a drunken meeting at Glasgow, (commonly so called) six hundred of the plagued Resolutioners went to the unclean bed, where some of them had lyen in uncleanness before the 1638, with that old gray headed strumpet Prelacy, (a bonny bride indeed) mother and daughter of Popery, with her skin and face as black as a blackmoor with perjury and defection: and this is the more to be wondered at, that it was so shortly after such a great, clear light of the gospel and national reformation. But the Lord was pleased in this Egyptian dark hour, to blow out this great burning and shining light, wherein many were made to rejoice for a long season, February last 1661. Some of his last words were these, 'I shall shine, I shall see Him as He is, and all the fair company with Him, and shall have my large share. 'Tis no easy thing to be a christian; but as for me, I have gotten the victory.' And after some fainting, 'Now I feel, I believe, I enjoy, I rejoice.'

To Mr. Blair he said, 'I feed on manna, I have angels, food.' One speaking to him of his painfulness in the ministry, he said, 'I disdain all; the port I would be in at, is redemption thorow his blood, even the forgiveness of sins.' And thus, full of the spirit, as it were in a transport, overcome with sensible enjoyment. his last words were, 'Glory, glory dwells in Immanuel's land.'

A third instance is Mr. William Guthry in Fenwick, whose piety, zeal and faithfulness the world have heard of, and who was a blest instrument to the conviction and conversion of many souls in the west of Scotland, where he was a fixed minister, especially after the Restoration, in discovering and giving warning of the national sins and snares of the time, the most part having changed their head and holding; and these who did not embrace Prelacy, left their people: which brings me in mind of what Mr. Shields sometimes said in publick, 'That the tout of a horn over the cross of Edinburgh, blew the greater part of the ministers of the church of Scotland out of their pulpits.' Mr Guthry continued until the 1664, and then was obliged to leave the country-side, although the earl of Glencairn spoke to the bishop in his favours, who gave him a very short answer; which made the earl say, 'We have set up these men, and they will trample upon us.'

Mr. Guthry was much afflicted with the gravel thorow his life; which obliged him, contrary to his inclination, to take diversion: and frequently in summer he visited his friends, who were of one sentiment; but above all, his cousin, Mr. James Guthry, minister in Sterling. The last time he was there, he was very melancholy, which was not his ordinary, especially in time of dinner. Mr. James said, 'A penny for your thoughts, cousin.' He said, 'There's a poor man at the door, give him the penny,' which he willingly did: and Mr. William said, 'I'll tell you cousin, what I'm not only thinking upon, but I am sure of it, if I be not under a delusion; and it is this, That the Malignants will be your death, and this gravel will be mine; but ye will have the advan-

tage of me, for you will die honorably before many witnesses with a rope about your neck, and I will die whinging upon a pickle straw; and I will endure more pain ere I rise from your table, than all the pain you will have in your death.

He was much affected and afflicted with Mr. James's bloody death, and was once resolved to have gone to the scaffold with him; but fearing his fainting, and that he would not carry it out, and friends persuading him that he would be in danger by these murdering enemies, stopt him.

At last he went home to Angus where he was born, and was seized with both gravel and gout, which soon carried him off. His pain was so great, that friends were obliged to hold up his feet, and down his head. He said, 'O but the Lord be so kind to old sinful Will, for all the ill turns he has done!' And with the same breath said, 'Lord, though I should die red-wood, yet I know well I will die in thee: Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord, at all times, but more especially when a flood of errors, snares, sins and judgments are beginning or coming upon a church, nation, or people.'

Although in my preface to the life and death of Mr. Peden, I told the world that I had consulted none, either in matter or method; yet how many have had their groundless, foolish, nonsensical reflections upon it? others quarrelling for want of grammar; some fathering it upon men who have both Latin, Greek and Hebrew, who knew nothing of it, and had their own dissatisfaction with some things in it; others charging it with bitterness.

I wish that all would consider, that I meddle with no man's state, heart, personal sins, or natural infirmities and weaknesses: 'tis only national defections, and turnings aside from the sworn-to, and sealed testimony of the church of Scotland, that I can never enough mourn for, abhor, and witness against; and if ever I shall change my sentiments in these things, and the edge of my zeal turn blunt against them, 'tis high time I were tinkling over Mr. Peden's last publick prayers, 'Let me away with the honesty I have, for I will gather no more.'

And if it were not for the sakes of a few upon the stage, (and I would fain hope there will be a succession of them) I would reckon it a wasting of time and pains, to write one sentence to the greater part of this infatuate, demented, perishing age; wherein there are so few that take notice, or regard what Moses and the prophets and apostles say; and these that will not hear them, will hear none, though they were rising from the dead. But, as I said in that preface, whoever are dissatisfied with these foregoing relations, let them lay the blame entirely upon me, for I have consulted none. And at the time I think (but I may think otherwise to-morrow, for I have gotten many proofs of myself, and yet myself is a mystery to myself) that if I be not under the power of a strong delusion, and if I had a concurrence of Providences to clear my call, and the full assurance of faith, I say, I now think, that (through the strengthning, supporting and comforting free grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, freely given to me, I would esteem it before all that the sun shines upon, to seal the scope, design, matter and substance of what I have been writing (whatever mistakes in circumstances, and unguarded expressions may be) either in that preface or the foregoing relations, all with my blood; and thus to win honestly off the stage.—However, for the time, let them stand for my mite of testimony against Scotland's abominations of tyranny and defections, and turning aside to the left or right-hand, these seventy-six years. And the good Lord, who is rich in mercy, for his love wherewith he loved us, and for his glory's sake, the elect's sake, and the sake of an uprising generation, shorten these melancholy days, and prevent my fears, that I have found myself obliged to entertain these thirty-six years, that there may be more and greater causes of wrath, effects and evidences of the Lord's great anger and hot displeasure against this church and nation, which may be of longer continuance than the greater part are either fearing or thinking upon, and all these evils of whatsoever kind be not as the beginning of sorrows to us.

PATRICK WALKER.

SOME

REMARKABLE PASSAGES

OF THE

LIFE AND DEATH

OF

MR. JOHN WELSH.

Mr. JOHN WELSH, whom the Lord called forth to the ministry at Kircudbright, in the shire of Galloway; was transported to the church of Air, whom Mr. Rutherford in one of his books calleth that heavenly, prophetical and apostolick man of God, and sheweth that from the witnesses of his life, he had this account; that of every 24 hours he gave usually eight for prayer, if other necessary and urgent duties did not hinder; yea, spent many days and nights, which he set apart in fasting and prayer for the condition of the church and the sufferings of the reformed churches abroad. I can also add this, from very sure information (and truly anent any of these particulars, I seriously study to have satisfying grounds anent the certainty thereof) that it was his use even in the coldest winter nights, to rise for prayer, and oftentimes his wife, who was an excellent woman, hath risen to seek after him, where he hath been found lying on the ground, weeping and wrestling with the Lord, yea, sometimes would have been much of the night alone,

in the church of Air on that account. One time especially, his wife finding him overcharged with grief, he told her he had that to press him which she had not; the souls of 3000 to answer for, whilst he knew not how it was with many of them. And another time whilst she found him alone, his spirit almost overcharged with anguish and grief, upon her serious enquiry, said, that the times which were to come on Scotland, were heavy and sad, though she should not see them, and this for the contempt of the gospel.

Whilst he was prisoner in the Blackness, in a letter to a christian lady, he giveth this account, 'what large joy he had to suffer for such a truth, that Jesus Christ was a king, and had a visible kingdom in the world, even his church, which was as free to keep its courts, and exercise discipline by virtue of an intrinsick power from Christ, as any kingdom on the earth, for which he was ready to lay down his life, yea, would rejoice to be offered up a sacrifice on so glorious a truth:' in the close of that letter, he doth also forewarn, that 'judgment was coming to Scotland which should be blood, first by an intestine sword, and then by the sword of a stranger, and that a great sacrifice should be there both of great men and mean:' the fulfilling whereof hath since been very sensible, and is known by many alive, who had that letter long before the late troubles begun. Whilst he was thus prisoner, two remarkable passages I have had confirmed, by divers worthy of credit, some of whom shewed me they had them from these who were most familiar with the persons themselves, they are indeed strange, but we must also consider he was an extraordinary man.

The first was this, that one night whilst he did expound the Scripture after his supper, in the prison, (as his custom was) whilst he with much power and authority was pressing home the truth, one of the company who had some charge in the castle, fell a jeering, which Mr. Welsh observing, and looking earnestly to him, did presently close the bible, and cease, and a little after having a drink in his hand, he sayeth to a friend at the table before all that were present, there is one so profane and gross as to contemn and mock at

the word of the Lord; but ere a little God shall smite him with a remarkable stroke of his judgment, which accordingly fell out to the astonishment of the company, for that man did presently drop down to the ground and died. A lady that was then popish being present by reason of a friend of her's that was prisoner in the castle, was so moved therewith, that it proved an help to her after-conversion.

The other passage is this, one John Steward, an eminent christian who lived in Air, having come to visit Mr. Welsh in prison, found him in a more than ordinary way troubled, and sad, and upon his enquiry thereanent, he sayeth, John, ye should not be here, go home to Air, for the plague of God is broken up in that place, and cause Hugh Kennedy, provost of that town (who was also a very singular christian) conveen the people to the streets, and pray together, and the Lord shall hear Hugh Kennedy, and remove that stroke; this at the first did something astonish the said John, and put him to question its truth, having so lately come out of that place, but at his return found it so; and accordingly in every thing it fell out as the man of God had shewed.

After his banishment, to which the king did change the sentence of death past upon him at Linlithgow, he in a very short time acquired the French tongue, with such a facility therein, as was thought strange by these who knew it; Trochrig in his commentary on the Ephesians, sets down this passage how being called to preach at Salmur, a famous university, yea one of the most learned auditories in France, he did with such boldness and authority preach, as though he had been before the meanest congregation; whereat Trochrig being astonished, could not but on his acquaintance with him question him thereanent, whence he had such confidence, and was so little moved, whilst he preached before strangers, so grave and judicious an auditory, and in a strange tongue; to whom in a humble way, as one more dejected, than lifted up, he gave that answer, When he considered his being before the Lord, and that he was delivering his message, he could not regard either great or small, but all flesh did then go out of his mind.

Whilst he was minister at St. Jean de Angeli a protestant town in France, where his ministry was much blessed with success, the civil wars did break up, where that city was twice besieged on the protestant interest, during which time these passages fell out most remarkable; one was, the town being sore straitened, and ready to be taken, the enemies having raised a battery, and by a close approach had made a breach in the wall, Mr. Welsh hearing thereof, (who had much encouraged the people, that their adversaries should not then prevail) went himself with the cannonier up the walls, and desired, he would charge such a piece of cannon, and shoot, for God should direct that shot, and cause it prosper, which accordingly did to the astonishment of on-lookers dismount that battery; and the Lord so ordered things after, that the king did parley on favourable terms with the city, and did only himself with his court come in without doing any violence. Another marvellous passage was this, the following Sabbath some of the godly in that place, fearing Mr. Welsh his hazard, did seriously deal with him that he would forbear to go forth and preach, the court being there, from which he by no entreaty would be hindered, but shewed them he would adventure to preach the word to his people, and trust the Lord with what concerned himself, being more grieved at their fear and despondence, and that day had a very great auditory both of friends and others, who came upon the fame of such a man; but in time of sermon, a great man of the court, with some of the king's own guard was sent to bring him forthwith before the king, and whilst he was entering the church which had some difficulty by reason of the multitude, Mr. Welsh did turn himself toward that entry, and desired the people to give way to one of the great peers of France that was coming in, but after, whilst he was coming near the pulpit to excute his commission, by putting force on the servant of Christ, for his desisting, he did with great authority speak to him, before all the people, and in the name of his master Jesus Christ, charged that he would not disturb the worship of God, wherewith that man was so affrighted that he fell a shaking, yea

was forced to crouch down, and make no further trouble. A third passage no less remarkable was, upon the close of sermon, whilst Mr. Welsh with much submission, went to the king who was then greatly incensed, and with a threatening countenance asked, what he was, and how he durst preach heresy so near his person, and with such contumacy carry himself? to which, with due reverence, bowing himself, he did answer. 'I am sir, the servant and minister of Jesus Christ, whose truth I preached this day, which if your Majesty rightly knew, ye would have judged it your duty to have come yourself and heard; and for my doctrine I did this day preach these three truths to your people. 1. That man is fallen, and by nature in a lost condition, yea, by his own power and abilities is not able to help himself from that estate. 2. That there is no salvation, or deliverance from wrath by our own merits, but by Jesus Christ and his merit alone. 3. I did also preach this day the just liberties of the kingdom of France, that your Majesty oweth obedience to Christ only, who is the head of the church, and that the pope, as he is an enemy to Christ and his truth, so also to the kings of the earth, whom he keepeth under slavery to his usurped power.' Whereat the king for a time keeping silence, with great astonishment turned to some about him, and said, 'surely this is a man of God.' Yea after did commune with him, and with great respect dismissed him. The year following, whilst the differences betwixt the king and protestant party did grow, that city was again besieged, taken, and in part sacked, as Mr. Welsh did publickly foretell; at which time, it is known, how the king past a solemn order, that none should in the least wrong Mr. Welsh, or any thing that belonged to him under highest pains, and did after give a safe conduct to him, for transporting himself to England where he died. King James refusing his return to his own country, though earnestly petitioned by his wife for her husband's health.

During his sickness he was so filled and overcome with the sensible enjoyment of God, that he was sometime overheard in prayer, to have these words, 'Lord,

hold thy hand, it is enough, thy servant is a clay-vessel, and can hold no more.'

Two men coming with packs of cloath to the town of Air from a neighbouring place, &c. where there was yet no suspicion that the Lord's hand had smitten it with the plague, which was then sore in the land. The sentry at the bridge held them out, notwithstanding they had a pass, till the magistrate came: who though he could not disprove their pass, yet would not permit them to enter the town, till he sent for Mr. Welsh: so the baillie bids them disburden their beasts, till he considered what was to be done. A little after Mr. Welsh coming, the magistrate says to him, 'Sir, here are men come from such a place, we have heard of no plague there; besides, they have a pass from known men, what shall we do?' Mr. Welsh made no answer, but uncovering his head, stood in the midst of the company which then followed him, and having his eyes directed to heaven (yet speaking nothing) near half a quarter of an hour, at last said, 'Baillie, cause these men to put on their packs again and be gone, for if God be in heaven, the plague of God is in these packs.' These men returned and opened their packs in Cumnock, and it was observed that such contagion was therein that all in that village died; there was not one man left to bury the dead.

He was famous in his generation for the power he had in prevailing with God by prayer and supplication, whereof take these following instances amongst the many which might be given.

One is, that being on a certain night under an extraordinary pressure of spirit to go and pour forth his heart to God, he left his wife in bed, and going out to a garden, spent most of the night in that exercise, (a thing so ordinary to him, that he used to say, he wondered how a christian could lie in a bed all night without rising to spend some of the night in prayer and praise) but his wife weary, at last went to seek for him, but missing him in his ordinary place, went into other gardens by such passages as she knew; at last she heard a voice, and drawing near to it, could hear him speak a few words, but with great fervency, mix-

ed and accompanied with floods of tears, which were these, 'O God, wilt thou not give me Scotland? O God, wilt thou not give me Scotland?' she being weary and afraid to interrupt him, went home, and heard not the close. At last he came home and re-entering his bed, his wife began to reprove his unmercifulness to his own body; then asked him, what it was he was saying; for she told she heard him. Well, said he, you had better have been in your bed; but since ye heard, I tell you I have endured a great fight for Scotland this night, and hardly could I get a remnant reserved, yet he will be gracious.

After this, he arose another night, but went not out of doors, but in a chamber he travelled and groaned so, as his wife impatient did rise several times, calling him to bed; but he waited his time, and when he came, she began a modest expostulation with him for tarrying: 'Hold thy peace,' said he, 'it will be well with us, but I shall never preach another preaching in Air:' and having fallen asleep, before he awaked, the messenger was come, who by command carried him prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh

When he was a prisoner in the castle of Edinburgh, the lord Uchiltree was captain, whose sister was Mr. Welsh his mother in law being John Knox's wife: yet being much taken up in king James's court, he took not time to be so comfortable to his cousin Welsh as he should: but being convinced of his own unkindness, he caused Mr. Welsh sup with him one night in the castle, where were also several other gentlemen, and among them a popish youth, sat towards the lower end of that table. Mr. Welsh being by the captain set at the upper end, entertained the company with grave and edifying discourse which all delighted to hear, save the young papist, who with laughter and derision laboured to silence him, which was little by Mr. Welsh. But after supper, while the guests sat a little, this youth stood up at the lower end of the table, and while Mr. Welsh proceeded from grave to gracious entertainment of his company, the youth came to that height of insolence as with the finger to point at him, and with the face to make flouting gri-

maces, whereby he grieved the holy man, so as on a sudden he was forced to silence.

The whole company who had heard him with delight were silent with him; within a little Mr. Welsh, as moved by the Spirit of God, broke forth into these words, 'Gentlemen the Spirit of God is provoked against us, and I shall entreat you not to be afraid to see what God shall do among you before you rise from the table, for he will smite some one of you with death before you go hence.' All were silently astonished, waiting to see with fear. And while every man feared himself, except the insolent youth, he fell down dead suddenly at the foot of the table, to shew the power of God's jealousy against the mockers of his Spirit and the offers of his grace.

One day, while Mr. Welsh looked out at his chamber-window in the castle, he happened to see the captain, and called unto him, saying 'God save you my lord:' the captain acknowledging his neglect and asking for Mr. Welsh his welfare, desired to know how he might serve him. 'In nothing,' said Mr. Welsh, 'if you be well, except you would carry my petition to his majesty entreating for liberty to preach the gospel.' 'I willingly will,' said the captain, 'therefore send it to me.' 'Nay,' said Mr. Welsh, 'I am your kinsman, I love you so well as to warn you not to take it in charge, except you resolve to deal truly in delivering it, and in getting me an answer.' 'I shall bear the blame,' said the captain, 'if I do it not,' 'I beseech you my lord,' said the other, 'undertake not, unless you mind to do it, for the hazard is great.' Well, Uchiltry takes it, but not coming in an opportune season (for he came when the king was passionately moved on another occasion) he thought not fit then to give it, and as at that time he deferred, so thereafter he neglected, and at last quite forgot to deliver it at all. For which his heart smiting him he durst hardly be seen of Mr. Welsh for three months. Yet conscience forgetting as well as he, he came to the same place where Mr. Welsh at first called him: and now Mr. Welsh asked how he did and what was become of his petition? The captain surprised, an-

swered, 'I delivered it to his Majesty, but he was in a passion, and it seems it hath fallen by for I have gotten no answer.' 'Nay my lord,' said Mr. Welsh, you should not lye to God and to me; I know you delivered it not, I am sorry my lord for your lot, I warned you not to be false to God; and now I tell you, God shall take your estate and honours in Scotland, and shall give them to your neighbour, and this in your own time.' This troubled the Lord Uchiltry, and came truly to pass; for he being the eldest son of the good lord Uchiltry, a reformer, was forced in his own time to quit all and give both estate and honours to James, the son of captain James, the second brother who was the last of that house.

SOME

REMARKABLE PASSAGES

OF THE

LIFE AND DEATH

OF

MR. ROBERT BRUCE.

Mr. ROBERT BRUCE, in a very extraordinary way was called to the ministry, having for a long time followed the study of the law, both in this country and in France, yea, had some ground to expect a place among the lords of session, his father being then a considerable baron, who had many friends, but a more pressing and irresistible call from God did otherwise determine.

Whilst he was in the ministry at Edinburgh, he shined as a great light thorough the whole land, the power and efficacy of the Spirit most sensibly accompanying the word he preached; he was a terror to evil doers, and the authority of God did so appear upon him, and his carriage, with such a majesty in his countenance, as forced fear and respect from the greatest in the land, even these who were most avowed haters of godliness; yea, it was known what an awful impression king James had of him, and did once give him that testimony before many, that he judged Mr. Bruce was worthy of half of his kingdoms. He was a man that had much inward exercise about his own personal case, had been often assaulted anent that great foundation-truth, if there was a God, which cost him many day's and night's wrest-

ling, and when he hath come up to the pulpit, after being sometime silent, which was his usual way, he would have said, 'I think it is a great matter to believe there is a God,' telling the people, it was another thing to believe that, than they judged. But it was also known by his friends, with whom he was familiar, what extraordinary confirmations he had from the Lord therein, what near familiarity he did attain in his secret converse with God, yea, truly some things I have had from persons worthy of credit thereanent, would seem so strange and marvellous, that I shall only mention the two following particulars, viz.

I. The great success of his ministry at Edinburgh, Inverness, and other places whither Providence called him, is abundantly known. Whilst he was confined at Inverness, that poor dark country, marvellously enlightned, many brought into Christ by his ministry, and a seed sown in these places, which even to this day is not wholly worn out.

II I shall set down one passage of famous Mr. Henderson, who at his first entry to the ministry at Leuchars was very prelatick, and by the bishop of St. Andrews brought in against the consent of the parish, so that the day of his admission, the church doors being shut by the people, they were forced to break in by a window to get him entrance: but a little after this, upon the report of a communion where Mr. Bruce was to help, he would needs, from a longing he had to hear and see such a man, go secretly there; and placed himself in a dark part of the church, where he might not be known; when Mr. Bruce was come to the pulpit, he did for a considerable time keep silence, as his manner was, which did some way astonish Mr. Henderson, but much more when he heard these words wherewith he begun, which were these, 'He that cometh not in by the door, but climbeth up another way, the same is a thief and a robber:' which did by the Lord's blessing at the very present take him by the heart, and had so great an impression on him, that it was the first mean of his conversion.

FINIS.

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